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Book Reviews

- Leonard Y. Andaya, Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula; Crossroads of the maritime silk road (100 BC-1300 AD)*. [Translated by Victoria Hobson.] Leiden: Brill, 2002, xxxv + 607 pp. [Handbook of oriental studies, 13.]
- Greg Bankoff, Resil B. Mojares, *The war against the Americans; Resistance and collaboration in Cebu 1899-1906*. Quezon city: Ateneo de Manila University, 1999, 250 pp.
- R.H. Barnes, Andrea Katalin Molnar, *Grandchildren of the Ga'e ancestors; Social organization and cosmology among the Hoga Sara of Flores*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000, xii + 306 pp. [Verhandeling 185.]
- Peter Boomgaard, Emmanuel Vigneron, *Le territoire et la santé; La transition sanitaire en Polynésie française*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1999, 281 pp. [Espaces et milieux.]
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- Gert J. Oostindie, Peter van Wiechen, *Vademecum van de Oost- en West-Indische Compagnie*

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-Amy E. Wassing, Bart de Prins, *Voor keizer en koning; Leonard du Bus de Gisignies 1780-1849; Commissaris-Generaal van Nederlands-Indië*. Amsterdam: Balans, 2002, 288 pp.

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-Nicholas J. White, Matthew Jones, *Conflict and confrontation in South East Asia, 1961-1965; Britain, the United States, Indonesia and the creation of Malaysia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, xv + 325 pp.

-Edwin Wieringa, Peter Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian world; Transmission and responses*. London: Hurst, 2001, xvii + 349 pp.

-Edwin Wieringa, Stuart Robson, *Javanese-English dictionary*. (With the assistance of Yacinta Kurniasih), Singapore: Periplus, 2002, 821 pp., Singgih Wibisono (eds)

-Henk Schulte Nordholt, Edward Aspinall, *Local power and politics in Indonesia; Decentralisation and democracy*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian studies, 2003, 296 pp. [Indonesia Assessment.], Greg Fealy (eds)

-Henke Schulte Nordholt, Coen Holtzappel, *Riding a tiger; Dilemmas of integration and decentralization in Indonesia*. Amsterdam: Rozenburg, 2002, 320 pp., Martin Sanders, Milan Titus (eds)

-Henk Schulte Nordholt, Minako Sakai, *Beyond Jakarta; Regional autonomy and local society in Indonesia*. Adelaide: Crawford House, 2002, xvi + 354 pp.

-Henk Schulte Nordholt, Damien Kingsbury, *Autonomy and disintegration in Indonesia*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, xiv + 219 pp., Harry Aveling (eds)

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Book Reviews

Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula; Crossroads of the maritime silk road (100 BC-1300 AD)*. [Translated by Victoria Hobson.] Leiden: Brill, 2002, xxxv + 607 pp. [Handbook of Oriental Studies, 13. ISBN 90.04.11973.6. Price: EUR 185 (hardback).

LEONARD Y. ANDAYA

Despite the title, this work covers more than just the Malay Peninsula. It encompasses the extensive and natural historical unity consisting of the isthmian region of peninsular Burma and Thailand, the Malay Peninsula, southeast Sumatra, and the eastern coast of the Gulf of Thailand. In the period under study these areas were very much an important mid-point for merchants plying the 'maritime silk route' between the civilizations in the east and west. The time frame roughly coincides with the period of 'Indianization' in Southeast Asia, a theme which has dominated the study of early Southeast Asia. Jacq-Hergoualc'h has done a service to the academic world by undertaking the difficult and complex task of reassessing and advancing the state of knowledge of this crucial crossroads during a little known period in the history of the region.

This is the first major evaluation of our knowledge of the Peninsular area in this period since O.W. Wolters' historical studies of Srivijaya (*Early Indonesian commerce*, 1967; *The fall of Srivijaya in Malay history*, 1970), and Paul Wheatley's historical geography of the Peninsula (*The golden Khersonese*, 1961). As an archaeologist and prehistorian, Jacq-Hergoualc'h relies primarily on archaeological and artistic evidence, thereby complementing the mainly Chinese literary sources used by both Wolters and Wheatley. In the opening three chapters, the author establishes the significance of the physical geography in explaining the role of the 'extended Peninsula' in the maritime trade, and provides evidence of prehistoric contact between the Indian subcontinent and the Peninsula prior to Indianization. Subsequent chapters examine a number of these entrepôt ports within a time-frame determined by the political context of the major world civilizations, whose activities would have had an impact on the viability of the maritime silk route. The author then proceeds to assess the importance of these sites based mainly on analyses of archaeological evidence in the form of commercial and religious artifacts. It is a monumental task, and the author freely acknowledges his debt to his predecessors to whom he dedicates this book. After assembling and assessing the

current knowledge of a site, he then presents a synthesis often supported by his own archaeological research. Chapter VIII, for example, is based on his extensive research in South Kedah, the results of which were published by l'Harmattan in Paris in 1992 under the title *La civilisation de ports-entrepôts du Sud Kedah (Malaysia) Ve-XIVe siècle*.

In this present study Jacq-Hergoualc'h distinguishes between those entrepôt ports which became 'city-states' (the A sites in Bronson's Sumatran dendritic model) and those which were simply collecting and redistribution centres (the B sites in Bronson's model) serving the former. Although he does not discuss in any detail the significant differences between the two, he suggests that at A sites the presence of archaeological evidence of major religious structures could be interpreted as a sign of Indianizing polities; whereas the B sites lacked such remains and did not develop beyond chiefdoms. By making this division, Jacq-Hergoualc'h establishes a hierarchy among the various sites mentioned in the sources. One of his controversial conclusions is that there were no city-states along the west coast of the Peninsula prior to the founding of Melaka in the fifteenth century. He suggests that Kalah, which is mentioned in Arab sources for some centuries, was a generic name for whatever site on the western side of the Peninsula offered port facilities for travelling merchants. His classification of Kampong Sungai Mas and Kampong Pengkalan Bujang in South Kedah as simply collecting and redistribution centres, hence mere chiefdoms, may spark considerable debate, particularly among Malaysian archaeologists. In contrast, he regards sites along the east coast of the Peninsula, such as Panpan, Langkasuka, and Tambralinga, as fulfilling the requirements of a city-state. He nonetheless admits being puzzled by the fact that Arab sources do not mention these east coast city-states, and therefore he suggests that Arab traders may have sailed directly from Pulau Tioman, an island off Pahang, directly to the coast of Vietnam and then on to China.

The primary city-state along the Straits of Melaka was Srivijaya. In 1918 George Coedès, the *doyen* of Southeast Asian Studies, brought to the attention of the scholarly world the existence of an important polity in southeast Sumatra mentioned in seventh century inscriptions as 'Srivijaya'. Since then the study of Srivijaya has experienced both peaks and troughs but has continued to exercise an important influence on the interpretation of Southeast Asian history from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries AD. More recent works, particularly those of the historians Wolters and P.-Y. Manguin, have tended to regard Srivijaya as crucial to an understanding of the functioning of the polities in the region. While admitting to its importance, Jacq-Hergoualc'h regards the study of Srivijaya as a hindrance in reaching a more balanced view of the history of the Peninsula. He rejects the tendency to portray Srivijaya as maintaining its hegemony throughout the period of its

existence. Instead, he prefers the assessment of Wolters and H. Kulke who describe Srivijaya as a *mandala* entity, a term which they use to characterize the functioning of a loose political structure where control was strongest at the centre and grew progressively weaker toward the edges. Srivijaya maintained a flexible and successful relationship with its 'vassal' areas because of the acknowledged mutual economic benefits accruing to all in such an arrangement.

Nevertheless, Jacq-Hergoualc'h is unconvinced that Srivijaya was as important as scholars have portrayed it, and he regards its location 'in an archipelago of many islands' (p. 495) as restricting the ambitions of its rulers. The historian Wolters, however, has used written documents to argue that the very location of Srivijaya among the islands explains its strength and resilience. These islands and the surrounding seas were an environment in which the *Orang Laut*, or sea people, proved invaluable as the navy and the collectors of sea products for Srivijaya. This productive relationship between a coastal kingdom and the *Orang Laut* persisted in the subsequent kingdoms of Melaka and Johor from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and accounted for their importance in the affairs of the region. The disagreement stems from a basic difference in the type of sources privileged by the historian and the archaeologist. It is indeed time for scholars to focus on other polities in the area, such as those of the Malay Peninsula, but recent archaeological and historical studies on Srivijaya have without a doubt confirmed Srivijaya's significance to the region.

While one may not agree wholly with some of the Jacq-Hergoualc'h's observations and conclusions, there is no denying the value of his work in assembling the current knowledge of the 'extended' Malay Peninsula and proposing new interpretations based on archaeological and artistic evidence. It offers a particular challenge to historians to re-examine the literary documents in the light of some of the ideas raised in this thought-provoking work.

Resil B. Mojares, *The war against the Americans; Resistance and collaboration in Cebu 1899-1906*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999, 250 pp. ISBN 971.55029.8.9 (paperback).

GREG BANKOFF

Resil Mojares has written a disarmingly simple account of the Philippine-American War as experienced in Cebu that belies the subtlety with which he reconstructs and then discusses the great complexity of forces at play on

the island during those fateful years. This is very much part of the author's intention as he purposely sets out to relate 'a popular narrative addressed to a Filipino (and, particularly, Cebuano) readership' (p. 2). He does this not only to restore to popular consciousness what 'colonial memory' has marginalized but also because, by doing so, he feels it reveals a large part of the 'troubled groundwork' of contemporary Philippine society. More than this, Mojares sets out to present a revisionist history of his country's past that takes issue with the whole historiographical myth surrounding the United States' policy of 'benevolent assimilation' and that remains so resilient among a particular group of American military scholars. Instead, he uses the local theatre of warfare to expose the 'inner contradictions' of Cebuano society that in normal times are often masked or disguised. War, like other form of crisis and disaster, can act as a magnifying glass (mine not his analogy) to allow the historian insight into the fabric of society: the multifaceted nature of nationalism, the structure of class contradictions, and the tensions between leadership and 'follow-ship' in the community. *The war against the Americans* does all of these things and more in the context of discussing resistance and collaboration in Cebu between 1899-1906. It is a deceptively important work in this respect and one where the modesty of its promises stands as a refreshing change from those works that claim much more and deliver far less.

The book begins simply enough with a straightforward narrative of the events surrounding the anti-Spanish revolt and its immediate aftermath as they unfolded in Cebu. Subsequent chapters deal with the arrival of the United States, how factionalism undermined local resistance, the gradual extension of American control over the island, the defeat of the revolutionary army, the recourse to guerrilla tactics and the invader's predictable responses. Later ones, while still chronological, take a somewhat more thematic approach dealing variously with such issues as the revolutionaries' problems in running the war, the extent of collaboration, American policies and racist attitudes, rural ferment, religious fanaticism and the changing nature of the frontier. According to the author, studies of the Philippine-American War tend to frequently favour simple dichotomies that ascribe the primary role in resistance to either the elite or the masses, when what 'is inadequately appreciated is the complex social formation of Philippine society at the turn of the century' (p. 205).

And it is in its elaboration of the complexity of Cebuano society that the great strength of this book lies. The way Mojares portrays the distrust between a conservative elite willing to accept the new order, aspiring groups who provide most of the revolutionary leadership, and the expectations and travails of the common people is a masterful tour de force. He presents the choice between resistance and collaboration as largely a matter of class interests but employs the term in such a way that it avoids becoming a doctrinaire

espousal on the fundamentals of dialectical materialism and, instead, offers a rewarding framework for better understanding group motivation. Resistance is as much a yearning for social egalitarianism and against the governing values in society as it is for national independence. Likewise, collaboration is a stance borne just as much out of a sense of the exorability of historical processes as it is one motivated by self-interested calculation. What the author claims as true for Cebu undoubtedly has its counterparts elsewhere in the archipelago and so sets both a model and a benchmark for further studies of a comparative nature.

Nor does Mojares lose sight of the wider forces of transformation at work in colonial society at the end of the nineteenth century. Quite apart from being an informative and insightful account of the conduct of the war and the failure of Filipinos to successfully prosecute it, the work is also a valuable social history of the times that highlights the importance of economic and environmental factors. In particular, the reader is constantly reminded that war was only one part, albeit an important one, of what constituted a much broader 'crisis' in Filipino society, and that military operations took place against a backdrop of an expanding world commodity market that laid bare the countryside to exogenous influences. As agricultural land was increasingly converted from subsistence farming to cash crops, the whole basis of rural livelihood came under strain, bringing prosperity and opportunity to some but poverty and dislocation to many others. Ecological imbalance only aggravated people's plight still further as deforestation and soil erosion, cholera and rinderpest, and the 'everyday hazards' of locusts, droughts, fires and typhoons caused the death of an estimated 28 per cent of the island's population.

As to criticisms, there is little to find fault in a book that delivers so much more than it promises. I might quibble over the rationale given for the continued use of a term like 'insurgents' to describe republican forces, that there is not enough attention paid to the condition of the common soldiery, of whether the *pulahanes* (religious fanatics) should be included within the specific rubric of resistance to the Americans, or the appropriateness of a penultimate chapter on the early career of Sergio Osmena. Many of these observations, however, are less a matter of censure and more about differences in assessing the relative historical importance of events or the uneven availability of sources. All in all, the book is a valuable contribution not only to the expanding scholarship on the Philippine-American War but also to the field of local history, where it does much to redress the one-sided accounts of the former and counter the Tagalog-centric bias of the latter. Moreover, it is a timely reminder that the study of this largely forgotten conflict may have more contemporary significance. There are some disturbing similarities between what the Americans thought they were doing in the Philippines at

the beginning of the twentieth century and what they think they are doing now in Afghanistan and Iraq at the beginning of the twenty-first. Little, it seems, has been learnt about the actualities of armed intervention for the 'good of the natives' in the intervening hundred years. Besides providing, as Mojares correctly claims, important insights into understanding why Filipino society is as it is today, this book also has a relevance to the current global situation which its author perhaps underestimates.

Andrea Katalin Molnar, *Grandchildren of the Ga'e ancestors; Social organization and cosmology among the Hoga Sara of Flores*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000, xii + 306 pp. [Verhandeling 185.] ISBN 90.6718.147.1. Price: EUR 33 (paperback).

R.H. BARNES

This study of a community of just over 1,000 living in the administrative village of Sara Sedu in the highlands of central Flores in eastern Indonesia is a revision of a doctoral thesis based on research in 1991-1993. The population speaks and blends dialects similar to those of neighboring Bajawa, Nage and Keo.

The author explores Hoga Sara local identity, the traditional village, clans, the traditional house as a unit of social organization, other material symbols of group identity, the role of the ancestors, and communal rituals. Among many other topics receiving attention may be noted spatial orientation, agricultural calendars, marriage exchanges, ritual structures, color symbolism, and sacrifice.

The relationship terminology is cognatic, lacking any features which might be deemed compatible with any form of lineal descent or marriage alliance. Furthermore, the people of Sara Sedu lack any such institutions. The features of social organization which they do have are very clearly presented. They consist of autochthonous or immigrant clans made up of named and unnamed houses. Senior houses of a clan are source houses, of which there are generally two, trunk and tip rider houses, indicating ritual functions. Membership is acquired in a variety of ways (including patrification, matrification, or marriage) and depends on a variety of factors. It is possible for some, principally the first born, to maintain membership in two or more houses. Hoga Sara have both asymmetric and symmetric modes of contracting marriage. Molnar speaks of 'systems', where 'procedures' or 'patterns' might be better descriptive choices. She also claims that two different marriage modes have never been described elsewhere, whereas in fact Barraud

has reported comparable alternatives for the eastern Indonesian island of Tanebar-Evav.

As in other eastern Indonesian societies, in Sara Sedu the ancestors play a very active role in day to day life. Interaction with the ancestors is required and provides for continuity of the house and clan. Many rituals are directed toward them. The spiritual world is associated with the color red. As has been noted by other authors on Flores, small food offering made to the ancestors are huge feasts in their world.

Unfortunately, Molnar brings in what she calls descent and alliance theories as straw men to no useful effect, thus weakening the comparative impact of her discussion. No one but Molnar has ever suggested that the Sara Sedu should be understood in these terms. Furthermore, no one familiar with eastern Indonesia has ever argued that women were simply objects of exchange between groups, although the sale of men, women, or children has existed in certain places at certain times. Otherwise, she situates Sara Sedu well both regionally and comparatively on social structural and many other themes. If she is right, among ways in which Sara Sedu appears regionally singular are that they lack institutions of dual authority, there is no lord of the land role, and later arriving clans have not gained political authority. Although she is wrong to claim that her ethnographic evidence challenges established anthropological assumptions, she is right to say she has made a contribution, a very good one, to comparative studies of societies of eastern Indonesia.

Emmanuel Vigneron, *Le territoire et la santé; La transition sanitaire en Polynésie française*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1999, 281 pp. [Espaces et milieux.] ISBN 2.271.05567.9. Price: EUR 27.50 (paperback).

PETER BOOMGAARD

Although the colonial period is now a thing of the past for the overwhelming majority of humankind, there are still some territories that are not entirely independent. Such areas are concentrated in a few regions, such as the Pacific and the Caribbean. This book is about an overseas dependency of France: the islands of French Polynesia, of which Tahiti is the largest and to the general public probably the best known. Others might argue that the best known island is Mururoa – a place name, by the way, not mentioned in the book under review.

This is a book about death and disease in French Polynesia, approached from the point of view of the geography of health (*géographie de la santé*), a

notion the author discusses at length, but the finer points of which might escape someone who is not a geographer. Another central notion in this study is that of the epidemiological transition, the theory that argues that over the last hundred or so years in many societies chronic and degenerative diseases such as cancer and cardiovascular diseases have taken the place of infectious and parasitic diseases.

Being a study of transition, the book necessarily deals with the historical dimension of the health and disease patterns of French Polynesia. However, the emphasis is on the present, as detailed statistics on causes of death are only available for the last decades or so. Nevertheless the author presents a brief overview dating back to the late eighteenth century, when European visitors 'discovered' the area. The first century after European contact was arguably the most dramatic episode in the history of these islands, as the visits by Westerners were followed by a demographic catastrophe. The population of Tahiti dropped from some 60,000 people or more around 1770 to 15,000 around 1800. The population did not start to grow again until after 1880.

After a brief discussion of French colonial health care in the past, the book looks at the demographic transition that is currently taking place in the area. Mortality rates have dropped almost constantly since 1950, while the birth rate, rising significantly between 1945 and the late 1960s, has been dropping ever since. Although the study does not say so we may conclude that such a development is quite similar to what went on in Southeast Asia at the same time. The book emphasizes the spatial differences in health care and therefore mortality between the various parts of French Polynesia, the best conditions prevailing in Papeete, the urban centre of Tahiti.

After a brief discussion of the current state of health care and its spatial distribution, the remainder of the book (from p. 129 onward) is taken up by a detailed discussion of the causes of death over the last decades. The conclusion is that 'modernization' and 'urbanization' have led to the expected epidemiological transition, though more so in Papeete than elsewhere in the area. The islands have reached a stage in the transition process comparable to the one attained by Hongkong, but are not yet on the same level as Australia or New Zealand – or, for that matter, France. The most important causes of death and disease are discussed in more detail. Most of these are the usual suspects, but the author also deals with more 'exotic' diseases such as goitre and Bancroft's filariasis.

The author mentions that the establishment of the CEP (Pacific Centre for Nuclear Experimentation) in the area in 1963 has been a major factor in the social and economic changes that French Polynesia has undergone recently (p. 17). He also argues that this has been conducive to a type of urbanization that has been as rapid as it is superficial and artificial (p. 133) – leading, for instance, to a high proportion of mortality caused by car accidents, a normal feature in

countries with similar patterns of superficial modernization such as Kuwait and Suriname. One might also have expected a discussion about the possible effects of the nuclear tests conducted on the atoll Mururoa since the late 1960s, but the author has not seen fit to deal with that topic. Apart from that strange omission this is a solid monograph, albeit one with few surprises.

Raechelle Rubinstein, *Beyond the realm of the senses; The Balinese ritual of kekawin composition*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000, xv + 293 pp. [Verhandelingen 181.] ISBN 90.6718.133.1. Price: EUR 28.60 (paperback).

CLARA BRAKEL-PAPENHUYZEN

As indicated by the title, this useful, well-written book focuses on the process of *kekawin* composition in Bali, defined as 'Kawi poetry written in Sanskrit metres or indigenous metres modelled on Sanskrit metrical principles' (p. 5). While acknowledging its ancient Javanese origin, the author investigates what this literary genre means to the Balinese. This approach contrasts with established philological practises, which the author considers to undermine the religious beliefs and values upon which *kekawin* composition has been based. Following a general introduction, the first chapter on the social distribution of literacy in Bali states that access to written texts has been wider than previously assumed, as 'no radical dichotomy has existed between a literate elite and an "illiterate peasantry"' (p. 38). Next, fieldwork data and information from esoteric texts in Kawi are used to discuss the magic of letters, rituals of literacy and alphabet mysticism, concluding that Balinese literacy is dominated by religion – as is also the case in other Indonesian communities which were influenced by ancient Indian civilization. In the discussion of magic syllables in Balinese literature, Peter Pink's very informative article on invocations to Yama in Bali and Kala in Java is not mentioned, possibly because it was not yet available to the author at the time of writing ('*Yamaraja* or *Yamaraja*; notes on a Javanese verse', in: Stephen C. Headley (ed.), *Towards an anthropology of prayer; Javanese ethnolinguistic studies*, pp. 235-59. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1996).

The second part of the book centres on the creation of *kekawin*, according to Balinese Brahmana texts a prerogative of the priestly caste, especially of the *pedanda* as ritual specialists. These texts illustrate that only the creation of *kekawin* is hereditary among *pedanda*; the composition of other types of poetry is not exclusive to them. While signalling that variation and contradiction is found in different manuscripts of the same texts, the author does not question

or criticize indigenous Balinese concepts on *kekawin* composition expressed in the Dwijendratattwa and the Babad Brahmana, as the texts are records of Brahmana truth. Accordingly, *kekawin* composition is considered to be a religious ritual comparable or equal to the performance of [Tantric] yoga. This central concept is elaborated in the following chapter on the mystical journeys of the famous Brahmana ancestor, the Javanese priestly poet Nirartha, narrated in the Dwijendratattwa. In fact, the Balinese portrayal of Nirartha's literary activity shows so much similarity with classical Javanese poetry, as elaborately explained in the works of Zoetmulder and his contemporaries, that the supposed 'important differences in the way that literary creativity has been conceptualized' (p. 126) by Balinese and Javanese authors seem an exaggeration.

The third and most original part of this study investigates a number of very technical *lontar* treatises on the craft of *kekawin* composition, to be used in a situation of oral instruction by a guru. Chapter V deals extensively with the Canda, a little-known treatise on *kekawin* prosody signalled as an important text by Hooykaas. The discussion of its contents is based on nine different manuscripts, including one from West Java. A comparison with the well-known Wrttasancaya is not made, but the author concludes that as a source of information on *kekawin* prosody, the Canda surpasses that text. Other texts on *kekawin* poetics and orthography discussed in the final chapters, though highly technical, all illustrate the point that the technique of composing is a sacred process and the rules of composition are a divine revelation. Having highlighted the living tradition in its Balinese context in this well-structured and clearly written study, Rubinstein might profitably build on this by widening her scope and perspective in a following work.

O.W. Wolters, *History, culture, and region in Southeast Asian perspectives*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University/Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999, 272 pp. [Studies on Southeast Asia 26.] ISBN 0.87727.725.7. Price: USD 17 (paperback).

IAN CALDWELL

This book is an updated version of the author's 1982 monograph with the same nonsensical title (and redundant comma between the words 'culture' and 'region'), now extended by a 'postscript' slightly longer than the original text. At first sight this is an impressive book: detailed, wide-ranging, displaying a deep erudition and a breadth of knowledge of Southeast Asian history quite exceptional in this present age of country and island specializations. It

is an old-fashioned history in that it depends almost solely on texts for the picture it draws of the past. Despite the author's opening statement that: 'A remarkable development in Southeast Asian studies since the Second World War has been the steadily improving knowledge of the region's prehistory', the book displays a striking indifference to the work of prehistorians and the ways in which they have transformed our understanding of the past. Where the author does deal with prehistory (pp. 15-7), he is awkward and unconvincing. His interests lie elsewhere, with the work of Barthes, Culler and other literary theorists. The result is a book of textual speculations, rather than a work which practical historians need to read.

As a new PhD student, the reviewer spent two hours with the author, who was kind, encouraging and, even then, incomprehensible. Twenty years on, it is difficult to take seriously a book on early Southeast Asia which fails to mention the work of Peter Bellwood, whose surveys of pre- and early historic Southeast Asia are standard references in their field (Bellwood's first major book was published in 1979). Nor does the author know of David Bulbeck's remarkable work on early Makasar and Bugis history. Today, South Sulawesi is one of the most intensively studied regions of Indonesia, yet the island does not appear anywhere in the index other than under 'Luwu', the name of a former kingdom. These sorts of gaps in knowledge bring into question many of the author's key notions, such as the 'men of prowess' model of Southeast Asian politics, the ubiquitous mandala of political power, and the statement that 'a notable feature of cognatic kinship is the downgrading of the importance of lineage based on claims to status through descent from a particular male or female' (p. 18). None of these three key ideas would bear scrutiny against the historical or anthropological evidence from South Sulawesi.

The author is not a good writer – a page selected at random (p. 208) reveals the words concurrent, heterarchic, man management and requisite in a single sentence. His style does not make for easy or pleasant reading and frequently the reader has to double back to follow the argument. Doubtless there is much good sense and many deep insights to be found here (other than in the reviewer's field, for which there are none), but the work of panning for gold is tiring. Why this book, written by an eminent historian at the end of a long and productive career, was republished is a mystery. An uncharitable suggestion is that its publication reflects an ossification in the United States of the author's field of study coupled with the falling cost of book production.

To sum up, this is an indulgent and lazy book. To put it on an undergraduate reading list would be to kill what small interest remains in its subject. To require the reader to disentangle useful insight from idle speculation, and to establish which of the supporting data are reliable and which are not, shows a lack of understanding of the pressures of modern academic life as well as poor

manners. *History, culture, and region in Southeast Asian perspectives* was not a good book when it was published in 1982. Time has not been kind to it.

Jonathan Rigg, *More than the soil; Rural change in Southeast Asia*. Harlow, Essex: Prentice Hall/Pearson Education, 2001, xv + 184 pp. ISBN 0.582.38211.4. Price: GBP 22.99 (paperback).

PETER VAN DIERMEN

In the preface, Rigg mentions that this book is an extension of an earlier volume of his which focused on the process of development in Southeast Asia. Given these comments in the preface, and having read and reviewed his very comprehensive earlier work, I feared the current volume might have been a rehash of the leftovers from the 1997 book. Instead, while Rigg does return to some of the themes identified in his earlier work, the current volume is a complete and thoroughly readable discourse on rural change in Southeast Asia. The book explores the contradictions and rapid changes occurring in the rural areas of Southeast Asia. While covering all of Southeast Asia, it focuses primarily on the larger and market-orientated economies. It draws on an extensive range of case studies and diverse literature to provide an excellent overview of the changes that are currently shaping the region.

Of the nine chapters that make up the book, the first four are quite distinctive from the remaining five. In the first four chapters the author rehearses the discourse of the agrarian question, drawing on material from the developed world as well as developing regions other than Southeast Asia, including Sub-Saharan Africa. In doing so he brings together the experiences of the past and juxtaposes them with current changes in rural areas in a predominantly globalizing world. This allows Rigg to argue that global economic forces play out in, and are influenced by, the specifics of place and time. The benefit of this approach is that it allows for the identification of several major themes which influence and shape rural outcomes, yet avoids unsatisfactory deterministic and unifying predictions.

In the second half of the book (Chapters V to IX), the author provides a more grounded approach and returns to some of the themes identified in his earlier work. In particular, he questions the simplistic concept of the rural consisting primarily of agriculture. Traditional ideas of the village and the household as single identities are also examined. Using detailed case studies and examples, the author provides compelling arguments for re-evaluating the rural. He convincingly shows that the dualistic models of the past are no longer adequate to explain the nature of the rural sector. People can be both

rural and urban; they can at once be involved in subsistence farming and generate income in off-farm employment. Rural people can be both embedded in the local economy and be part of a global production chain. People are simultaneously being pushed off the land, and aspiring to non-farm work. Moreover, they continue to identify themselves as rural while living in urban environments. Such contradiction and complexities are explored in an accessible manner in the second half of the book.

Like Rigg's earlier Southeast Asia book, I found *More than the soil* an excellent read, providing a comprehensive and detailed picture of the region without oversimplifying or losing sight of the richness and diversity that represents Southeast Asia. While my own interest is more in urban/industrial development in the region, I nevertheless found this an admirable and thought-provoking book, pleasantly free from jargon and discipline-specific language.

Martin Stuart-Fox, *Historical dictionary of Laos*. Second edition. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2001, lxi + 527 pp. [Asian/Oceanian Historical Dictionaries Series 35.] [First edition 1992.] ISBN 0.8108.3880.X. Price: GBP 57 (hardback).

GUY DROUOT

Ten years after the first edition, Professor Martin Stuart-Fox has published a second version of his *Historical dictionary of Laos*. With this book the Australian historian, an internationally recognized specialist on Laos, does not intend to give the reader a comprehensive knowledge of the country. His purpose here is to enrich the first edition and update the data as required, while inviting the reader to refer for further details to his two other books, *A history of Laos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and *The Lao kingdom of Lan Xang: Rise and decline* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998). However, the book will give any reader far more than a basic knowledge of Laos, the smallest state in terms of population, the weakest militarily, and the least developed economically in mainland Southeast Asia.

With the benefit of hindsight, the second edition is able to offer a more accurate view than the first regarding the evolution of Laos over the ten years that followed the fall of the USSR and the end of Soviet influence over the country. Laos underwent deep economic changes as it moved towards free market economic conditions. Its relations with other countries, meanwhile, changed completely after it joined the ASEAN and renewed ties with parts of the French-speaking world.

Other than this essential updating, what are the main differences between the two editions? Unlike the first edition, which was co-authored by Mary Kooyman, the second is written by Martin Stuart-Fox alone. The second book is also bigger, with almost twice as many entries as the first version. Most of the new entries concern individuals, since the author rightly thinks that it is people, more than institutions, who determine the nature of Laotian politics. However, there are also many entries describing subcomponents of the state's single political party. The thematic bibliography includes a new topic, 'geography and environment'. The addition of this eighth topic, and the increased number of references provided, reflect the increasing interest in Laos among researchers. From a formal point of view, the author has used a new transcription, the Chinese transcription, which is easier to pronounce for English speakers. This is not just a detail, considering the importance of the pronunciation and intonation of each syllable in the Lao language.

In accordance with the structure used in all the books in this collection, the *Historical dictionary of Laos* includes some twelve subdivisions. Apart from a preamble, various disclaimers, a list of acronyms and, at the end of the book, details about the author, the essence of the book is the dictionary section itself. This main section is preceded by a series of maps (illustrating the evolution of administrative divisions, the distribution of the various ethno-linguistic groups, and the development of the territory within Indochina since the twelfth century), an exhaustive chronology (running from before the Christian era up to 26 May, 2000, when Laos signed an agreement with Thailand fixing the price of the electricity produced at the Nam Theun II dam). The tables in the appendices following the main section contain a list of the Lao leaders, from the kings (1291-1975) through the 'Résidents Supérieurs' of the French Protectorate to the members of the communist government (1972-1996). They also list the members of other important governments, including the 1945 *Lao Issara* government and the three coalition governments of 1957, 1962 and 1974. The list of Prime Ministers has not been updated: it does not mention that Bunnyang Vôrachit took over from Sisavat Kaeobunphan in 2001. But this is probably due to publishing constraints, which usually rule out last-minute changes. The appendices also include statistics on the Lao population.

With many links to the dictionary section, the maps are essential complementary material, making some entries much clearer to the reader. For instance, the *mandala* concept is easier to understand with the help of the maps showing the evolution of the territory during the state's creation. This Indian concept refers to a geographical area the centre of which symbolizes the root of state power. Unlike any contemporary state, the *mandala* does not have clear borders. It is the primary form of Laotian state, preceding the advent of the modern state apparatus.

The dictionary entries can be sorted into several semantic categories. These include: key people (such as Fa Ngum, regarded as the father of Lao unity and founder of the *mandala* of Lan Xang in the fourteenth century, Suvanna Phuma, the famous neutralist prince, and Kaisôn Phomvihan, a figure of the communist regime and the subject of a personality cult after his death in 1992); places (such as the strategic Plain of Jars and the archelological site of Say Fông, which appears to have been the Khmer administrative centre for the Upper Middle Mekong in the eleventh century); political institutions (such as the National Congress of People's Representatives, which met in a secret session on 1-2 December 1975 in order to replace the Kingdom of Laos with the Lao People's Democratic Republic), culture, religion and custom (entries include Phra Bang, the most venerated Buddha image in Laos, 'tat-tooing', which was instrumental in generating support for Lao independence in northeastern Thailand in the nineteenth century, and the Phi Cult, which incorporates some of the ancient animist beliefs of the Tai peoples); the economy (for example: 'teak', 'mining and minerals', and the 'New Economic Mechanism', the policy endorsed by the Party in 1986 in order to revive market forces and open the economy up to foreign investment); events (such as the Declaration of Lao Independence, announced under Japanese duress on April 8, 1945, and the coup d'état of 1960, carried out by Captain Kônglae in order to return Laos to a policy of strict neutrality).

In conclusion, this book is an exhaustive and very useful reference work for researchers (especially political scientists, sociologists and historians) and students, and indeed for anyone else interested in discovering something about this little-known country.

Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the colonial state; Essays on gender and modernity in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000, 251 pp. ISBN 90.5356.403.9. Price: EUR 23.95 (paperback).

DORIS JEDAMSKI

Despite all alleged and real progress in the field of women's emancipation, writing a book on women is still a challenge and likely to provoke the most diverse reactions. Some observers (probably male) might smile mildly and put the book aside sighing 'yet another woman book'. Committed fighters for women's equality (probably female) might eagerly grab it with high expectations of finding the latest theories in Gender Studies all combined with colonial theories in a most elaborate case study. Neither of these would

be a good way to approach Locher-Scholten's book, which is not designed to be a 'woman book' in either of the two meanings above. This book addresses scholars and private researchers of both sexes who wish to learn more about a specific issue in colonial history that is more often than not left out of colonial historiography. Locher-Scholten's study critically examines the situation and the agency of women in the social and political network of the Netherlands East Indies during the last decades of colonial rule.

Locher-Scholten's book consists of six chapters: five essays (three of which are 'recycled' articles by the author published between 1987 and 1997), and one extensive introductory chapter. The main theoretical concepts inspiring the work are 'orientalism and the construction of whiteness, colonial modernity and gender, and female colonial citizenship' (p. 25). Said's concept of orientalism, in particular, is revisited and questioned by Locher-Scholten. 'The [...] essays thus clarify the ambivalences of colonial mentalities and their effects on people, social institutions and discourses; in short on the widely divergent worlds of the racial population groups in the Netherlands Indies' (p. 23). Her interpretation of orientalism – deriving from the growing gender-oriented critique on Said's approach – foregrounds its arbitrary character as a political device viewed from the female positions of colonizer and colonized.

In her first essay, which focuses on labour legislation for female rural labour, the author correlates statistics and colonial regulations to interpret both within a framework of political calculation and 'adjusted orientalism'. The ambiguous role of *adat* (traditional law) as an argument both for and against female night labour features prominently in the colonial discourse of the 1930s and in this essay. (The issue of *adat*, a focus of many debates in the Dutch colonial context, also resurfaces sporadically in the succeeding chapters.) In contrast to the rest of the book, this first chapter makes a rather dry read. It is, admittedly, difficult to present statistic materials in an exciting way. The second and third essays both reflect on the domestic sphere of the Dutch colonial household. Depicting the intricate relationship between the European mistress and her indigenous servants, Locher-Scholten successfully reveals the contradictory colonial ideology that positioned the Other between orientalism and familization. 'Servants can be considered the metaphor for the colonial relationship, being both included in and excluded from the colonial family' (p. 109). Using the examples of dress and food, Locher-Scholten then illustrates the Westernisation process which the 'white' woman in colonial Indonesia underwent during the first decades of the twentieth century – when, for instance, she put aside the *sarong* to wear Western dress instead against all climatic odds. Women as agents in the political arena are the core of the last two essays, one dealing with the struggle for citizenship and women's suffrage, the other with colonial marriage laws in general and

the 1937 debate on monogamy in particular. 'Women were present on two levels in this issue: as cultural symbols and political pawns in a (male) power struggle, and as active participants in the debate' (p. 188).

In contrast to what the book's title (especially in combination with the cover illustration) might suggest, Locher-Scholten's book does not predominantly focus on indigenous women. Although all the essays endeavour to look at both European and indigenous women, the indigenous women (and men, for that matter) remain rather voiceless (unless they speak Dutch). The book certainly deals with images of them, images created by a Western (male and female) 'orientalism' that was adjusted to serve concrete political and social needs. Central to this collection of essays, however, is the European woman in the colonial society. She found herself caught between her fight for women's rights on the one hand, and the colonial project on the other. She had to negotiate her position in the colonial world mediating between family and public, European and indigenous men (of all classes), and, first and foremost, she had to determine her relation to the indigenous woman who was colonial subject, potential rival and potential fellow-fighter at the same time.

The author has searched a great variety of sources (including governmental reports and statistics, children's books, women's magazines, household manuals, and press overviews), and comes up with some amazing and highly valuable information. The endeavour to put together these pieces of a puzzle to produce a complete picture, however, could not but fail due to the fact that hardly any indigenous sources are included. There can be no doubt that the author has done her utmost to incorporate the indigenous voices, but these mostly come through the filter of Western research publications or colonial 'surveillance'. One of Locher-Scholten's prime sources of information in this context is the *Inlandsche Persoverzichten* (IPO), which was compiled by the Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur. It had the task of monitoring the indigenous press and providing an overview of indigenous political and social debates. During the 1930s, however, the IPO became more selective and only summarized the indigenous material. Notwithstanding this (forgivable) shortcoming, the book does present new insights into the intricate interrelations of the various groups actively or passively involved in the colonial project. It would have deserved – this being no more than a footnote! – more careful English editing; the word *Japanese* (to mention just one of numerous flaws) should never have been allowed to appear in place of *Javanese* throughout one of the chapter headings. I am convinced, however, that no reader will put down the book because of this marginal deficiency either, as this is a highly informative work by a genuinely committed author – qualities which should make it a must for every Indonesianist, male or female.

Robert Hampson, *Cross-cultural encounters in Joseph Conrad's Malay fiction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000, xi + 248 pp. ISBN 0.333.71405.9. Price: GBP 40 (hardback).

CAROOO KERSTEN

There are probably very few people who know as much about Joseph Conrad as Robert Hampson, a professor of literature, former editor of the *Conradian*, and author of two earlier books about this Polish-born English writer. Such erudition can be both a blessing and a curse. Although the title, *Cross-cultural encounters in Joseph Conrad's Malay fiction*, suggests a suitably narrowed-down theme, Hampson's analysis of Conrad's five novels and two short stories set in the nineteenth-century Malay world is of an intimidatingly wide scope and impressive depth. However, at times it also suffers from a lack of focus. This must in part be attributed to the fact that the author has allowed himself only a little over two hundred pages to cover some widely varying themes.

Hampson does not intend to limit himself to a critique of the encounter between Conrad's literary characters and Malay-Indonesian culture *per se*, but embeds his study in a much wider intellectual setting. In the first place he extends that setting to the achievements resulting from the adoption of the Baconian scheme for scientific progress by Britain's Enlightenment scholars, and to the pivotal role of the Royal Society in implementing that project and its implications in terms of preparing the ground for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British imperialism. Beyond this, however, Hampson has also included a fair amount of post-modernist text criticism, surveying such issues as: the Malay world as a trope; gender; and the Foucaultian theory of power.

Hampson explicates this ambitious approach in an introduction which is somewhat peculiar in composition. The author provides us with an enticing glimpse of what he intends to do, but the first two thirds of the introduction are not always coherent. Sure enough, from the outset Hampson identifies the description of another culture as a recurrent theme in Conrad's oeuvre and makes explicit his intention to study this in the context of the paradigm of the Enlightenment project of knowledge, while simultaneously drawing on post-colonial and post-modern theories. But then this section unravels somewhat in snippets of things to come until, in the remaining third of the introduction, Hampson arrives at a description of the structure of this book which hints that after the topic was conceived and the project got underway, the scope was gradually extended.

A few passages create the impression that the author has not edited this introduction as carefully as he could have. Hampson's moving back and forth in time when describing the process of the annexation of Borneo by

the Dutch and British might confuse the average reader, while his discussion of geography and navigation is not only unnecessarily repetitious (the very same passage from *Last essays* is quoted twice on pages 19 and 20) but also nowhere explicitly justified in terms of its relevance for the remainder of the book. Finally, Hampson states that Chapters I, II, and III of the book have two functions, but then enumerates three in the remainder of the paragraph: mapping Malay history and its historiography, positioning Conrad's discursive formations, and examining the unravelling of the Enlightenment project due to uncertainties and self-questioning.

As a result of the wide-ranging scope of the study, the first half of the book has to be dedicated to an explanation of this wide focus, and it takes a while before the importance of the issues addressed in these first three chapters to the book's main thesis becomes clear. Unfortunately the author does not succeed in doing that equally well for all chapters.

Drawing on the work of Milner, Geertz and Tarling, the first chapter provides an impression of the historiography of the Malay world. But having made the point that Conrad always took care to provide his representations with 'temporal depth' (p. 10), Hampson's treatment of the relevant historical background is limited to the highlighting of some key features that might leave readers wanting for more information. In particular the section dealing with the problematic, but crucial, category of piracy deserved further elaboration. Unfortunately, the research for this book was probably already completed before the release of Eric Tagliacozzo's highly interesting and relevant dissertation *Secret trades of the Straits; Smuggling and state formation along a Southeast Asian frontier 1870-1910* (unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University, 1999).

The next chapter offers a genealogy for the suggested interplay between the Baconian project, Britain's Royal Society under Joseph Banks, the early orientalist writings by Marsden and Raffles, and the role of James Brooke as 'one of the performers of the new script' (p. 27). What remains somewhat vague is the writer's claim that this 'will suggest how a semiotic component derived from the practices of merchants combined with a material component derived from the practices of the landed gentry' (p. 44). The third chapter discusses how the Enlightenment project pertaining to Malaya is fleshed out in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century through the writings of Alfred Wallace and Hugh Clifford. With themes like civilization, race, gender, cultural borders, and the 'threat of seduction' (p. 90), the contours of Hampson's exposé of Conrad's writings now start to come into view.

It is only in the remaining 90 pages that the author can elaborate on the distinct phases, and the corresponding themes, which he has detected in Conrad's Malay fiction. It is Hampson's thesis that in the first two novels, *Almayer's folly* (1895) and *An outcast of the islands* (1896), Conrad dealt with

cultural diversity and hybridization, and then moved on to an exploration of race and gender in the stories 'The lagoon' (1896) and 'Karain' (1897). In these encounters with the 'Other', the more general problematics of the representation of 'Otherness', at which Conrad finally arrived in *The rescue* (1920), can already be discerned. In true post-modernist mode, Hampson traces Conrad's trajectory to this penultimate concern of the cross-cultural encounter via discussions of written and oral narratives, dialogue and the phenomenon of gossip, on the basis of close readings of *Lord Jim* (1900) and *Victory* (1915).

Hampson provides some penetrating insights and deep-digging analyses, but he assumes a very high degree of familiarity on part of the reader with both Conrad's work and English literature in general. In the chapter 'Absence and presence in *Victory*' (pp. 146-60), for example, he subjects this novel to a comparison with Shakespeare's *The tempest*. Consequently, these chapters of literary criticism are not easy to read.

Given the breadth of the author's approach and the specialized nature of the themes he discusses, it is regrettable that Robert Hampson has not allowed himself more space. In the concluding chapter he raises some very interesting points regarding exile, homecoming, and estrangement which would have deserved a more exhaustive treatment. However, the brevity of the book is partly alleviated by extensive and detailed references in the end notes and a fine bibliography, which allow the interested reader to check issues the author was unable to treat more extensively.

Cross-cultural encounters in Joseph Conrad's Malay fiction is a highly erudite and original literary critique for advanced students of Conrad's oeuvre, cultural studies, and English literature. It may be of less appeal, however, to Asianists.

C. Michael Hall and Stephen Page (eds), *Tourism in South and Southeast Asia; Issues and cases*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000, xiv + 293 pp. ISBN 0.7506.4128.2. Price: GBP 31.50 (paperback).

VICTOR T. KING

This is an extremely useful overview of the study of tourism in Asia written by specialists in tourism studies, commerce, business and marketing, geography, and area studies. About one-third of the text has been provided by the editors, including three jointly written chapters; Michael Hall and Stephen Page are internationally acknowledged experts in the field of tourism studies, especially with reference to Asia. There are very few informative refer-

ence works on tourism in Asia, though these have been increasing in number during the past decade, and Hall's *Tourism in the Pacific rim; Developments, impacts and markets* (second edition, 1997) and Hall and Page's *Tourism in the Pacific; Issues and cases* (1996) are among the best known.

The collection is directed mainly to a student market, and in that regard, and as the subtitle of the book suggests, it addresses a number of general issues relevant to tourism development and presents country case-studies. It is also suggested that the text will have 'a specific appeal to tourism institutions in the region'. The first section of the book examines general matters. The introductory chapter by Hall and Page places tourism in South and Southeast Asia in a regional context, and is followed by a series of overview pieces on the historical dimensions of tourism (Ngaire and Norman Douglas), social and cultural issues (Trevor Sofield), transport and infrastructure (Page), politics, political instability and policy (Hall and Alfred Oehlers), environmental problems and policies (Hall), and planning and development (Russell Smith). Given the background and interests of several of the contributors, there is considerable emphasis on marketing, promotion strategies and integrated planning.

The authors are correct in pointing out that too often, government efforts to increase tourist revenue are not matched by improvements in facilities and infrastructure to support increased numbers of visitors and to facilitate sustainable tourism. The effects of uncontrolled expansion are plain to see in such Southeast Asian resorts as Pattaya. The importance of studying domestic as against long-haul tourism is also indicated, as are the issues of intra-regional business and leisure travel and that of regional cooperation in tourism development. Sofield also warns against too great a reliance on analyses which are 'based on Western perceptions of Western tourists impacting upon Asian societies' (p. 45), and points to the significance of the diversity of the categories 'tourists' and 'hosts', the variations in tourist experiences and encounters, and the interconnectedness between tourism-generated changes and other processes of change. The general chapters by the Douglasses on the history of tourism development, Sofield's on socio-cultural themes, and Page's on the neglected topic of the relationships between transport infrastructure and tourism development, are all particularly valuable contributions.

The remaining two sections of the text present country studies: predictably, one on Southeast Asia and the other on South Asia. Most of the countries of Southeast Asia are covered, with the exceptions of Brunei and the Philippines. There are chapters on Singapore (Peggy Teo and T.C. Chang), Thailand (James Higham), Malaysia (Ghazali Musa), Indonesia (Hall), Vietnam (Malcolm Cooper), and Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar (Hall and Greg Ringer). The papers on South Asia comprise an overview chapter on India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (Hall and Page), a specific piece on India

(Tej Vir Singh and Shalini Singh), a combined chapter on Sri Lanka and the Maldives (Ross Dowling), then separate treatments of the Maldives (Dowling) and Sri Lanka (Anne de Bruin and V. Nithiyanandam), and a remaining chapter on Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet (David Simmons and Shankar Koirala). Rather oddly, a paper is then tacked on dealing with China's impact on Asian tourism and its potential influence on intra-Asian travel and tourism patterns (Alan Lew). Not unexpectedly, the collection is rounded off by a brief summary and conclusion by Hall and Page.

One would not expect anything startlingly new in this compilation. The descriptive country chapters are designed as distillations of and commentaries on the published literature, supported by the presentation of a range of facts and figures, including government data on visitor figures and revenue, as well as government reports, available web materials, and newspaper and magazine articles (though the editors also note the relative paucity of 'reliable, up-to-date and meaningful tourism data', p. 287). What is especially valuable in the case studies is the attention to the immediate consequences of the Asian economic crisis of 1997, as well as the drawing out of similarities and contrasts between the experiences of various of the Asian countries in planning for tourism. With regard to Southeast Asia, for example, the reader is introduced to a wide range of situations, from the deliberate 'invention' of tourist assets and the vigorous promotion of niche markets in the modern city-state of Singapore, through Thailand's 'regional tourism hub' campaign and mass tourism strategy, and the rather more subdued and commonplace promotional images of ethnic and cultural diversity in Malaysia, to the crisis-ridden uncertainty of Indonesian tourism development and the more strictly government-controlled approaches of Vietnam and Myanmar.

It is not entirely clear why South and Southeast Asia are brought together in this volume rather than East and Southeast Asia and the western Pacific Rim, and there seems to be a lack of any convincing argument to explain why this has been done. There is a chapter on China, given its increasing importance both as a source of tourists travelling to Southeast Asia and as a destination for ASEAN visitors. The close tourism integration between Japan, China, South Korea, Taiwan and the Southeast Asian countries might well have merited greater attention. But despite the increasing interest in tourism in Asia as an academic field of study and the recent burgeoning of literature on tourism development in the region, there is certainly room for a teaching text of this kind, packed as it is with information, maps, illustrations and statistical data. *Tourism in South and Southeast Asia* is likely to sell very well and if it does, it will need quite regular updating. Already some of the data and the pronouncements based upon them are rather dated, even though they manage to take us up to 1997-1998.

Bernard Sellato, *Forest, resources and people in Bulungan; Elements for a history of settlement, trade and social dynamics in Borneo, 1880-2000*. Jakarta: Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), 2001, ix + 183 pp. ISBN 979.876476.5.

JOHN MCCARTHY

This slim volume is concerned with Bulungan regency in northern East Kalimantan. It began life as a consultancy report undertaken to provide background for CIFOR projects in the area. In the course of the report, the author offers a sketch of changing institutions and land and forest use patterns during the period from 1890 to the present. In passing, he also discusses developments downstream, particularly in connection with how they have shaped the situation upstream. The study is based on a brief survey in the upstream areas, research carried out in archives, government documents, and project reports.

Sellato describes the major societal types found in the area, the social characteristics; histories of settlement and migration, and the nature of indigenous organisation of the various indigenous ethnic groups found here (for instance: Merap, Kenyah, Punan). He provides a potted history of petty kingdoms and coastal polities, following the colonial and post-colonial transformations in these areas. The book also includes other basic information regarding the area, for example on health care, education, administration, and transmigration. While much of this information will only be of interest to researchers working in Bulungan, at times the historical trends discussed are of wider interest.

An interesting section describes the crucial role of the non-timber forest products (NTFP) trade in the process of state-formation in the interior region. In this account, state formation emerges as a gradual process that occurs in parallel with the transition to systematic exploitation of NTFPs. The process started in more accessible areas long ago, but from 1850 onward moved gradually upstream into remote regions. In the process, coastal principalities, upriver aristocracies and indigenous groups competed, formed alliances and developed territorial strategies. During the colonial period, as middlemen penetrated the interior, NTFP collection was transformed from a sideline to a year-round activity, and we see the emergence of a pyramidal style of trade organization that has persisted to the present day. Finally, the frontier of unsustainable extraction closed when elements of the post-colonial state moved in to control the trade. This process culminated when collectors using helicopters harvested valuable NTFP in even the remotest places.

A transformation of local institutions also occurs in parallel with this process. While stratified tribal groups upriver used to have a strong sense

of territoriality, this has been undermined by immigration, resettlement, and government transfer of lands. The old regimes that ensured collective action, such as the traditional 'private' aristocratic domains, collapsed as a result of changes in social structure, pressure from other communities, and interventions by outside agencies. These processes have in due course meant that local groups no longer control territory as they did in the past. As older *adat* rules recede, local people are unable to assert collective ownership over particular territories. In a situation of overt competition for access, there is a shift to individual land ownership and to more individualistic behaviour.

Sellato also describes the familiar story of the emergence of paramount *adat* leaders at the state's behest during the colonial period, followed by their eclipse during the New Order. As state law claimed sole legitimacy, villagers were left with dysfunctional traditional political and legal institutions and a corrupt and non-functioning bureaucracy.

With recent legal reforms offering a strong incentive for villagers to revive *adat*, Sellato anticipates a re-emergence of customary law. However, he argues, the complex political competition surrounding the re-emergence of *adat* authorities precludes effective action: 'too many leaders whose real constituency may be questioned, are jockeying for positions of power' in a fashion that 'may constitute more of a threat to than an asset for the local communities' (p. 112). Sadly, as in many other areas of Indonesia, this leaves communities divided and in conflict with timber companies, feeling cheated and disoriented, and without clear means of articulating their aspirations.

One of the strengths of Sellato's account is that his long term perspective enables him to view subsistence strategies and extractive processes over the long term. He is able, for instance, to distinguish subsistence resources which have tended to be managed in a sustainable way from trade resources which are subject to rapid fluctuations in price, and have therefore evoked non-sustainable 'immediate return' strategies. While the absence of famine attests to the success of subsistence strategies over the long term, the depletion of NTFP attests to the pernicious effect of extractive strategies on trade resources. Unfortunately, Sellato does not attempt to extend this interesting argument to the extraction of timber and the current epidemic of unsustainable logging.

The historical lens allows the author to take a novel view of involvement in NTFP extraction on the part of the elite military unit Kopassus (also known as RPK). For Sellato this example of hit and run activities on the frontier, involving elements of the state in short-term profit seeking without concern for environmental consequences, is anything but an anomaly. The Kopassus appropriation of local extractive and trading activities by means of intimidation, with the involvement of local government officials, is in keeping with the earlier history of trade monopolies. As in the past, strong enough commercial incentives once again led to unsustainable extraction.

As the report is impressionistic, it is at times frustrating for readers looking for a systematic account. It does not advance a major thesis, but rather, in the course of sketching a picture of the transition from the 'traditional' to the 'modern', offers a series of assertions and observations regarding past patterns and events and how these have shaped the present socio-economic situation. Unfortunately, the author's assertions and often interesting observations are at times poorly supported not organized in a methodical way. Nonetheless, the book does succeed in its objective of providing 'an understanding of how things became what they are today' (p. 132). Sellato's account affords an interesting and concise discussion of key developments in a little studied, remote, interior area of Kalimantan. Hopefully a full-bodied discussion will one day ensue.

Michael French Smith, *Village on the edge; Changing times in Papua New Guinea*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, xviii + 214 pp. ISBN 0.8248.2609.4. Price: USD 17.95 (paperback).

NAOMI M. MCPHERSON

If we need a contemporary exemplar for how to write an ethnography that can engage a readership beyond the halls of academe, then this is it. Smith makes this work accessible to non-anthropologists and those who may know nothing about Papua New Guinea without sacrificing the anthropological data and analysis or minimizing the complexity of village-based life. The text is written in refreshingly readable narrative form. References to relevant literature and quotations are included but citations are banished from the page to the endnotes, available but unobtrusive. Smith is everywhere in the text, thus making visible the personal, experiential nature of the anthropological enterprise: finding a site, being in the field and the ambiguities of field work, doing the work (often mundane, never boring), the problems of language (admit it, we don't all become fluent in the vernacular), getting sick, creating and surviving 'cross-cultural relationships' that are fraught with relative differences of class, education and wealth, and often complicated by the motives (of which the anthropologist may not even be aware) of village, mission or government hosts. There is a glossary of Tok Pisin and Kairiru terms, and analytical concepts such as development and change, bigmen, descent groups, reciprocity, relations with spirits and ancestors, myth, colonialism, missionization, economics, morality and the 'good life', essential to understanding Kragur culture and the main theme of the text, 'change', are clearly discussed. Almost imperceptibly, readers acquire an anthropological sense of

the layered nuances of Kragur culture and experience and an appreciation for how villagers locate themselves (often ambivalently) within the larger context of post-colonial Papua New Guinea as a developing nation in an era of economic globalization.

The central objective of this ethnography is the analysis of change in Kragur, a small village on a small island off the northern coast of the East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. Smith's narrative style employs a temporality both retrospective and prospective that moves easily between his initial 1975-1976 fieldwork and his most recent 1998 fieldwork, providing insight into Kragur traditions, people's past and present decisions and relationships, and historical events as precursors of current and future changes. Concepts of change, progress and development are operationalized; since the nature of culture is change, 'traditions' are 'seldom stable and unchanging because, often unwittingly, people everywhere revise their legacies from the past to make them useful or relevant to the present' (p. 6). Smith is particularly interested in capitalism, something most readers of this text take for granted, but which in Papua New Guinea is 'still a novelty and not yet like water to fish' (p. 13).

Economic change entails movement away from a precolonial economic system, embedded in the social obligations of kinship and the giving and receiving of gifts, toward a capitalist system of 'market calculation, profit seeking, and continuous accumulation of wealth' (p. 40). The critical differences between systems of reciprocal obligation and commodity exchange are explained, and Smith points out that 'Papua New Guineans' use of material wealth to forge and maintain social relationships and proper relations with the sacred as a way of increasing "social capital" or even "sacred capital" [...] risks misapprehending a way of life that is truly different in important ways' (p. 41), not least in the separation of producers from the means of production and the creation of a class of people who have to sell their labour in order to live. No such condition for capitalism exists in PNG because the majority of people retain access to and own the land that is the means of production. This leads to an interesting analysis of access to land, descent groups, and attitudes towards time, labour and ongoing obligations of reciprocity and kinship. Capitalism is indeed a 'strangeness' (p. 33).

Smith provides an overview of Papua New Guinea's political economy from independence in 1975 (noting the lack of enthusiasm among many Papua New Guineans for independence) to the economic crisis of 1994-1995, which saw the collapse of rural infrastructures, more reliance on foreign aid, currency devaluation, and increasing inequality, especially for women who experience double discrimination as a legacy of colonialism and from contemporary expressions of indigenous patriarchy and capitalism. These seeds of people's distrust of government and the World Bank grew into concerns

that both institutions were intent on the alienation of land and the demise of customary land tenure as a condition of monetary aid. Smith argues these concerns were 'off the mark', yet constituted a 'splendid weapon with which to attack the [...] loan conditions in general as well as the sitting government' (p. 65). That any land registration process or abolition of customary land tenure will inevitably be complex and problematic is made abundantly clear throughout this ethnography, especially in the discussions of descent groups, village structures and politics of village life, where 'the most fundamental' obligations of kinship and descent still 'give Kragur its characteristic order' (p. 102). Authority, leadership and the health and prosperity of the village are dependent upon certain types of inherited ancestral knowledge. However, new sources of leadership opportunities erode the authority of big-men, and village solidarity and interpersonal relations are affected by struggles concerning money, schooling and the advent of Pentecostal Christianity. Catholicism, a source of change in the past, has become in its contemporary guise of charismatic Christianity a source of interpersonal and village disharmony despite the church's emphasis on unity and its opposition to the individualism consequent on the pursuit of money.

Obstacles to money-making in Papua New Guinea include inadequate transportation, lack of capital, lack of business acumen, and the national economic and political situation. Schooling is necessary to survive in this new era, but here too there is a disjuncture between ancestral and new modes of knowing and authority. Integrating educated villagers or 'saveman' into village life is complicated, since the 'kind of striving for individual achievement that fits well in school, urban areas, and in the money economy is not a good fit with village life' (p. 159). Knowledge acquired through schooling does not carry the right to authority and leadership that traditional knowledge did, creating rifts between younger and elder, schooled and unschooled. Given that schooling is equated with acquiring business know-how, those who go to school are under enormous pressure to bring 'development' to their village, suffering heavy criticism when they fail to do so, or if their village entrepreneurial activities fail. No wonder the educated prefer the life of waged urbanites, moving to towns where they enjoy a 'novel form of autonomy' (p. 165). They also inhabit a different moral universe, one steeped in a Protestant work ethic that holds poverty to be self-inflicted due to lack of initiative, perseverance and capitalist virtue (p. 164). Blaming rural villagers for their own poverty, however, 'neglects the great inequality of opportunity in Papua New Guinea and the country's rather feeble commitment to erasing the legacy of colonial privilege' (p. 167).

Smith's 1998 fieldwork allows him and Kragur people to reflect on changing Kragur society, since Smith's initial visit 22 years earlier, how they hoped life would become, and how life seems to be currently unfolding. Money,

money-making and the new needs only money can accommodate are juxtaposed to the fact that in traditional activities, feasts and daily life, money debts are of a different order than gifts of food, pigs or labour. Kragur people debate the morality of buying and selling among themselves and the benefits of collective as opposed to individual business endeavours, voicing their concerns that as people become more individualistic, the Kragur 'Good Way' – social relationships, cross-cutting ties of kinship, obligations of kinship and social harmony – will decline. Villagers find themselves in a contradictory and confusing world where money, time and individualism are required yet people are judged according to kinship obligations, group and community standards. Smith concludes that unless Kragur people 'embark on a more self-conscious effort to tame and domesticate money' (p. 173), they could experience greater fragmentation, a demise in community life, reciprocal obligations and common well-being, and an inability to protect the resources upon which they all depend.

This excellent ethnography deserves a wide readership; recommend it to your family and colleagues, assign it to your students. One minor irritant: if we must convert kilometres to miles for readers in the United States, care should be taken to ensure they are correct: 6 km is not 'approximately 16 miles' (p. xvi), and 12 km is not 60 miles (p. 41).

M.H. Bartels, E.H.P. Cordfunke and H. Sarfatij (eds), *Hollanders uit en thuis; Archeologie, geschiedenis en bouwhistorie gedurende de VOC-tijd in de Oost, de West en thuis; Cultuurhistorie van de Nederlandse expansie*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2002, 190 pp. [SCHI-reeks 2.] ISBN 90.6550.702.7. Price: EUR 20 (paperback).

C.L. Temminck Groll (in cooperation with W. van Alphen and with contributions from H.C.A. de Kat, H.C. van Nederveen Meerkerk and L.B. Wevers), *The Dutch overseas; Architectural Survey; Mutual heritage of four centuries in three continents*. Zwolle: Waanders/[Zeist]: Netherlands Department for Conservation, [2002], 479 pp. ISBN 90.400.8743.1. Price: EUR 50.00 (hardback).

Peter van Wiechen, *Vademecum van de Oost- en West-Indische Compagnie Historisch-geografisch overzicht van de Nederlandse aanwezigheid in Afrika, Amerika, Azië en West-Australië vanaf 1602 tot heden*. Utrecht: Bestebreurtje, 2002, 381 pp. ISBN 90.6581.004.8. Price: EUR 59.50 (hardback).

GERT J. OOSTINDIE

Over the past decade, the concept of 'mutual heritage' has gained wide currency. This concept is particularly used to refer to the material remnants of colonial encounters and exploits centuries ago, including archives, objects of art, ship wrecks, colonial architecture and interventions by colonising powers in the landscapes of their colonies. Virtually by definition, the 'mutuality' emphasized by the concept provokes debate about the nature of colonialism as well as the contemporary drive to preserve its legacies and make these available to a wider public. After all, just as colonialism is not necessarily best described with the help of the cosy buzzword 'encounter', the supposed reciprocity in the preservation of its legacies need not necessarily serve all parties involved to the same extent. With this caveat in mind, there is every reason to welcome the rising interest in mutual heritage, particularly where this includes the financing of preservation efforts in formerly colonized countries which as yet have economic priorities other than investing in the preservation of such remnants of history. Small wonder that UNESCO is strongly supporting the endeavour to preserve such mutual heritage around the globe.

Recently three books were published regarding the mutual heritage left by Dutch colonialism. By far the most impressive is the huge volume *The Dutch overseas*, authored by Temminck Groll and others. Both Temminck Groll, emeritus professor at the Technical University of Delft, and his collaborator Van Alphen have spent many decades documenting the architecture of

Dutch colonialism in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The inevitable comment on this beautifully produced book is that it summarizes the life-long achievement of these men. And a commendable achievement indeed it is.

The book has four sections: a general historical introduction, followed by sections on Asia, with particular emphasis on Indonesia, the Americas, and finally Africa. The general introduction summarizes early modern Dutch and particularly Dutch colonial history (and, very briefly, postwar decolonization). In some 100 pages, the authors also graphically illustrate the – mainly one-way – interaction between metropolitan and colonial architecture. Each of the following continental sections is divided up into subsections on particular countries, regions and cities. In addition, there is information on the most relevant collections and institutions, a glossary and indices of topographical as well as personal names (authors, illustrators, historical figures). There are many strong points about this book: it is in English, it encompasses not only early colonial architecture but also twentieth-century buildings, it is well-structured, richly illustrated, and clearly written with expertise and dedication.

Endeavours such as these, almost by definition, cannot be complete. No database on such a large subject will be comprehensive. Moreover, the book form imposes a tighter straightjacket than does digital publication. The authors have not striven to compile a full inventory, but rather ‘a comprehensive series of examples of buildings and urban structures spread throughout the world’. Going through the book, a specialist might miss one or two peculiar entries, but as far as this reader can judge the selection seems comprehensive indeed. Thus one finds maps and architectural styles from the sixteenth through to the twentieth century, specimens of military and utilitarian structures as well as private houses, and so on. Even though there is no explicit discussion of the criteria for selection used, one finds ample reason to trust the authors’ reliability both in the choices made and in the descriptions offered.

After such praise, the two other books under review are bound to pale in comparison. *Hollanders uit en thuis*, edited by Bartels, Cordfunke and Sarfatij, is the result of a 2001 seminar on archeology, history and architecture in the Dutch colonies and in the metropolis. As so often happens with conference proceedings, the selection of articles is rather arbitrary. Fortunately, however, most of the articles are well-written and informative. The book has three sections, one on facilities and infrastructure (shipbuilding and wharves), one on trade, production and consumption, and one on fortifications and trading posts. Although the book’s subtitle suggests otherwise, most of the articles deal with the exploits of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), with only one contribution on the Dutch West India Company (WIC). The period covered is approximately from 1600 to 1800. There are three contributions on the Netherlands themselves, two on shipbuilding for the colonial merchants,

and one on a fortification in the northern Dutch province of Groningen. In the latter case there is no mention at all of any colonial link, and the reader is thus left with the question of why this paper had to be included. In a closing chapter by L. Wagenaar, the reader is reminded that it was not colonial but rather intra-European trade which accounted for the prosperity of the Netherlands in its Golden Age. True as this may be, this four-page contribution also alerts the reader to the fact that economic history is conspicuously absent in *Hollanders uit en thuis*.

One contribution in the book deserves particular attention here: Martine Gosselink's introduction to the 'Atlas of Mutual Heritage' project initiated jointly by the Dutch National Archives, the Netherlands Department for Architectural Conservation (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg), and the National Museum (Rijksmuseum) in Amsterdam. The project aims to build a freely accessible digital library of drawings, paintings, maps and other data on landmarks from the history of the VOC, linked to modern photographs of these sites as well as references to further archival sources. At present the Atlas is mainly centered on the legacies of the VOC in South Africa and Asia, but a new collection on mutual heritage from the WIC is now being constructed. Institutions other than the three initiating bodies are invited to participate. This may be a project concerned with purely colonial history, but it is certainly well done. The reader may want to find out how this all works at www.atlasmutualheritage.nl. Incidentally, the photographs are mainly derived from Temminck Groll's impressive collection, now at the Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg.

Finally, Van Wiechen's *Vademecum*. This aims to provide an overview of remains dating back to the Dutch colonial presence in Africa, the Americas, Asia and Australia at the time of the Dutch East and West Indies Companies, hence up to the late eighteenth century. The book presents a rather uneven coverage of subjects. There is a wealth of data including pictures of colonial fortresses, plantation houses, and suchlike. One further finds all kinds of references to particular geographical locations (with maps), historical figures (with portraits), contemporary authors (with fragments of their books), and tropical commodities (with technical information). Yet what is sorely missing is any attempt to provide a systematic presentation. The only ordering is alphabetical, there is no index, no table detailing the spread of entries over particular categories or regions, much less an explanation of the criteria used in the selection of entries or a discussion of whether this selection is in any sense representative or can claim some degree of comprehensiveness.

It is hard to judge a work without knowing the criteria which its author is trying to meet. To complicate matters, in an endearing but characteristically short preface the author of this book simply states that he has no scholarly pretensions, and frankly anticipates any criticism by stating that 'as in any

encyclopaedia, lexicon or vademecum', there will be lacunae. Suffice to say that this reviewer has a problem with a work put together without a clear rationale, and found the selection of entries somewhat haphazard and its coverage impossible to judge. Most entries are adequate, others are obviously inaccurate or of doubtful relevance. But then again, this is obviously a labour of love by a self-proclaimed amateur and should be appreciated as such. Richly illustrated, Van Wiechen's *Vademecum* would indeed be a nice 'take-me-along' book for travellers to those parts of the world which it covers – if only it weighed half as much as it does.

Tony Day, *Fluid iron; State formation in Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, xii + 339 pp. ISBN 0.8284.2617.5. Price: USD 21.95 (paperback).

HENK SCHULTE NORDHOLT

Most studies on state formation in Southeast Asia sketch a development from fluidity and diversity to institutionalised centralization – or, in other words, the transition from the precolonial contest state into the strong authoritarian postcolonial state of the late twentieth century. A fitting illustration of the latter was the New Order regime in Indonesia. Whereas research on precolonial polities prefers a cultural perspective, studies of the strong state tend to use a political economy approach. Weak and fragmented states are explained in cultural terms, but when states become stronger culture seems to be less and less relevant.

Tony Day wants to reverse this tendency. In his thought-provoking book he explicitly tries to bring culture back into the study of the modern state. Starting his investigations in the premodern period, he traces continuities which ultimately lead him to the modern states of our time. In this respect Day disagrees with authors like Benedict Anderson and John Pemberton who locate the roots of the New Order in the late colonial state and its culture. Besides these two well-known scholars, Day also uses some straw men to develop his argument. They appear in the shape of worn-out dichotomies like traditional/modern, local/global, and rational/ritual. Day argues in favour of an alternative and slightly postmodern approach that appreciates hybridities. This is evident in his definition of the state, which allows for agency 'shaped by culturally constructed repertoires of potent, rational, authoritative, magical, symbolic and illusory practices, institutions, and concepts' (p. 34). Moreover, Day points out, Southeast Asian states have no power monopoly, and the powers that be are always confronted with subal-

tern countercurrents.

Day elaborates four specific areas in which he claims it is possible to trace strong continuities from precolonial to contemporary politics. The first concerns kinship ties and family networks. Participation in the precolonial state, or incorporation in the family network of the king, gave access to wealth and status. Here it is difficult to miss the similarities with the New Order under *bapak* (father) Suharto. There were also gendered tensions between (male) Indic ideas about hierarchy and duty versus (female) notions about loyalty to the family and desire, the continuities of which are less clearly sketched.

Cosmologies and truth regimes, and their historical 'transculturations', form the second theme, so here we are taken from Angkor Vat to Taman Mini. Indic ideas about the order of things moved from India to Java, and later again from colonial India to colonial Java when British officials started to explore the island. Day is on familiar ground when he traces the biography of the *Serat Centhini*, a Javanese text intended as an alternative body of encyclopaedic knowledge. This text was re-interpreted and 'disciplined' by Dutch academics and incorporated in the canon of Javanese culture, after which it became a source of hegemonic knowledge regarding Java for New Order political figures and institutions. Knowledge also offered access to invulnerability. Searching for continuities, Day could have argued that this also applies to modern political crooks who act beyond and above the law.

'Bureaucracy, reason and ritual' is the title of the third theme. This time Weber's ideal type of the rational bureaucracy is Day's straw man when he argues that rationality and ritual are not mutually exclusive. In reality, however, I don't think that anybody would deny the existence of 'irrational' and 'ritual' traits in any bureaucracy. Day shows that that notions of rationality and territoriality can be found in old inscriptions, and that the New Order should be seen in hybrid terms: *priyayi* (aristocratic) entrepreneurs, administrative soldiers, technocratic rationality, cosmological mysticism, and a lot of ritual.

The focus on hybridity is important but imprecise, because it ignores the fundamental impact of new processes of state formation that took shape in the twentieth century and fails to indicate how new institutional frameworks structured new political behaviour. This is even more important when we try to understand the genealogy of political violence in Southeast Asia. Day discusses the role of creative and destructive violence within the state, and here again he offers rather sweeping continuities running from Suryavarman II to Pol Pot, from Jayabhaya to Suharto, and from the Bharathayudda to the killings of 1965. I am not very sure what he actually means when he refers the 'beauty' of violence here, and nor am I convinced when Day, following Alexander Laban Hinton, explains the violence of the Khmer Rouge exclusively in cultural terms. Kevin McIntyre (1996) has argued convincingly that the origins of the killing fields had more to do with Leftist ideologies circulat-

ing in Paris than they did with Cambodian culture ('Geography as destiny; Cities, villages and Khmer Rouge orientalism', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38:730-58).

Day is probably right that a lot of political behaviour in Southeast Asia has long genealogies reaching back to the times of precolonial polities, but he ignores important twentieth-century discontinuities too easily. Genocides, for instance, are very different in nature from even the bloodiest episodes of precolonial violence.

Day raises doubts about the nature, extent, direction, and rapidity of change, that 'great fetish concept of the historian' (p. 290). He therefore wants to 'dehistoricize' the past in order to emphasize continuities. Here he comes dangerously close to Schrieke's famous dictum that Java was the same in 1700 as in 700. I sympathize with the idea of tracing genealogies from precolonial times through (post-)colonial trajectories into the present, but an exclusive emphasis on continuities or hybridities is not sufficient, because it avoids addressing fundamental questions about historical change.

Day has written an important book, and the moment of its publication is well chosen. Instead of an exemplary authoritarian bureaucratic regime, Indonesia is now classified as a 'messy state', and analysts are still in search of a new paradigm to describe the latest dynamics of its political system. In this respect Day's book offers many new, inspiring and controversial insights, and I have to admit that his arguments are more complex and comparative than I can summarize here. Therefore this book deserves a wide audience and will hopefully arouse a lot of disagreement, as such debate will help us to formulate a new framework for analyzing the various manifestations of states in Southeast Asia.

Nicholas Thomas, Diane Losche (editors) and Jennifer Newell (assistant editor), *Double vision; Art histories and colonial histories in the Pacific*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, xii + 289 pp. ISBN 0.521.6434.14. Price: GBP 50. (hardback); ISBN 0.521.65998.1. Price: GBP 18.95 (paperback).

NICK STANLEY

The relationship between anthropology and art history has come under increasing scrutiny over the past decade. There has developed a particular interest in methodological concerns that link but demarcate the disciplinary traditions. Pacific studies have become some of the most exciting arenas of such discourse and has already produced remarkable work for over forty

years. Bernard Smith's *European vision and the South Pacific* (1960) serves as a defining accomplishment. In a sense its centrality has acted as a brake on subsequent scholarship: it is just so magisterial. This is the challenge that Thomas and Losche take on: to free us, as it were, from Smith's parental authority. But the analogy goes deeper. This collection of essays is united in filial respect for Smith's achievement and in various ways attempts to build on the record he has already established.

This is not an easy task. Peter Brunt, in his summary review, describes the contributions to the collection as 'an eclectic bunch that hop, skip and jump from the end of the seventeenth century to the present' (p. 259). He reflects on the title of the work and sees on the one hand the melancholia associated with colonial settler cultures, on the other the project of rethinking and revisioning the past as a means of facing the future. Melancholia features significantly in this collection. Ian McLean's study of melancholy in the colonial imagination looks closely at the visual record. Startlingly, he reveals a relationship between the grotesque, the picturesque and the sublime, and shows how these related concepts not only serve to exclude aboriginal people from the picture, but also become associated with racism and ultimately genocide.

However, another theme of the book is contestation. As Rosenthal remarks in his article 'The penitentiary as paradise', 'what people look at and what people see can be very different things' (p. 109). This is very clearly exemplified in the excellent cameo treatment of Goldie's portrait of Te Aho o Te Rangi Wharepu. As Leonard Bell argues here, it is extremely difficult to see whether the subject of the painting is laughing at the *pakeha* audience or, like Velasquez's *Las Meninas*, offering a complex study of mimesis. Agency is a key to interpretation and intention. Robert Jahnke's study of the rise of Maori art scholarship and the exhibitions of Maori art and *taonga* states firmly that 'contemporary Maori art is part of a wider cultural project that seeks autonomy of expression as a right of citizenship on both sides of the *pae*' (p. 196). The sites of cultural representation are always the location of symbolic conflict between different cultural systems.

This book attempts something quite novel in the way that text and images work. Joan Kerr uses the metaphor of 'reading across the grain' to suggest that artists 'can convey meanings diametrically opposed to their sources but yet seemingly independent of them' (p. 243). Throughout the work the various authors place narrative accounts against the visual record. It is the disjuncture that appears between historic account and visual evidence that forms the most salutary achievement of the work. As Losche suggests in her case study of the Abelam, the visual aesthetic may totally pervade the narrative so that in order to understand one needs to see in complex and novel ways; to develop, that is, a double vision.

David Henley, *Jealousy and justice: The indigenous roots of colonial rule in northern Sulawesi*. Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 2002, 106 pp. ISBN 90.5383.797.7. Price: EUR 17.90 (paperback).

HEATHER SUTHERLAND

This small monograph raises fundamental questions, not just about the theme as expressed in the title, but also about the often unexamined assumptions that underlie interpretations of colonial regimes in stateless societies. Since decolonization, after the Second World War, the dominant paradigm has long been cast in terms of the usual binary oppositions: tradition and modernity, nationalism versus imperialism. The great virtue of Henley's extended essay is that he places state formation by colonial powers within the continuum of earlier, similar but indigenous processes.

Henley takes the English seventeenth century political philosopher Thomas Hobbes' depiction of 'Warre' as typifying societies riven by envy and conflict, and uses it to explain why the peoples of northern Sulawesi (Celebes), in eastern Indonesia, could readily accept the imposition of Dutch rule. With no means of conflict resolution that transcended the local, or even familial, the inhabitants of stateless societies were constantly exposed to jealous and predatory neighbours. They would then tend to welcome the arrival of a 'stranger-king', capable of resolving such conflicts because he is both outside and above the community, and hence possesses a unique authority. This ancient myth of the wise outsider was developed and applied by the anthropologist Marshall Sahlins in his analysis of Pacific communities, particularly Fiji (Henley cites several books by Sahlins, but interested readers could also refer to the original 1981 article in the *Journal of Pacific History*). Since then the concept of the 'stranger-king' has proved fruitful for scholars working on societies ranging from the Maya to medieval Europe. Students of Indonesia such as Jim Fox and Leonard Andaya have long emphasized parallels between eastern Indonesia and the Pacific world. Henley goes a step further by showing how the Dutch East India Company could provide a 'stranger-king' solution to the central political dilemma of northern Sulawesi's fractious and litigious communities. This is a refreshing, if potentially controversial, insight into the history of Indonesia's colonisation.

The reason why this approach could be regarded as politically incorrect is that it resonates with earlier, colonialist interpretations of the European/Indonesian encounter. In this version, central to older Dutch narratives, the natives are grateful for 'pacification' as their political institutions are incapable of providing the security and stability necessary for the pursuit of prosperity. However, as Henley shows in Chapter XI, 'Patterns and Parallels', it is not just European sources that suggest recurring uncertainty and conflict

within many indigenous societies. Local chronicles and accounts collected by anthropologists explain, and legitimize, the process of pre-colonial state formation in similar terms, not just in Southeast Asia, but also in Africa and elsewhere. In Indonesia, perhaps the best known example is that of many states in Southwest Sulawesi. According to Bugis and Makasarese sources, the first rulers descended from the heavens (as *tomanurung*) or rose out of the earth (*totompo*) to put an end to cycles of anarchy in which society was like a merciless ocean, with the large fish feeding upon the small. In this context, European civil servants and missionaries achieved authority not just on the basis of military conquest, or through the clever manipulation of collaborating elites, but because they provided a relatively impartial mechanism for arbitration. Similarly, it could be argued, colonial courts, rather than being instruments of oppression, provided ordinary people with an access to justice that was less subject to the influence of bribery and patronage than were traditional means of reconciling competing claims.

According to Henley, impartiality was one of the two key variables that determined whether or not an outsider was perceived as a potential 'stranger-king'. The second factor was strength: the arbiter must be seen as being able to enforce his judgements, should that be necessary. Henley is careful to emphasize that he is not arguing that Minahasan societies were any more conflict-ridden or unstable than comparable communities elsewhere in the world, and he certainly does not seek to minimize the arrogance or self-interest of colonial officials or missionaries. But, he concludes, 'we will not understand the nature of those societies better if, whether out of embarrassment, disbelief, or lack of interest, we choose to ignore either the ease with which they were often brought under colonial control, or the evidence that "stranger-kings" were perceived as fulfilling useful functions among them' (p. 89). It is in this indigenous wish for an end to the state of 'Warre', for ways of containing jealousy and violence, that the indigenous, as opposed to external, roots of colonial rule in northern Sulawesi must be sought. This is a thought-provoking essay, and the initial impulse of some readers might be to dismiss it as somehow denigrating Indonesian political systems, by labelling them incapable of a structural shift from 'Warre' to a legitimate central authority. They should reflect, however, that Henley actually describes the imposition of colonialism not as the result of the breaking of the spirit of local communities by brute force, or as reflecting an ignorant peasantry's acquiescence in the lies of its self-interested leaders, but as a people's rational and productive acceptance of an opportunity offered.

Piet Hagen, *Journalisten in Nederland; Een persgeschiedenis in portretten 1850-2000*. Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 2002, 600 pp. ISBN 90:295.2222.4. Prijs: EUR 36,30.

GERARD TERMORSHUIZEN

Piet Hagen, pershistoricus en tot voor kort hoofdredacteur van het vakblad *De Journalist*, heeft in de vorm van een kleine vijftig geschreven portretten een geschiedenis geschreven van de Nederlandse pers in de laatste anderhalve eeuw. Ik heb ervan genoten: Hagen heeft gevoel voor de anekdote en het detail zonder de hoofdlijnen uit het oog te verliezen, en beschikt daarnaast over een uiterst vaardige pen. Het is ook een mooi uitgegeven boek. Toch wil het oog bij een publikatie als deze nog wat meer: foto's, illustratiemateriaal in het algemeen. Het is er helaas niet. Zo'n werk als dit verdient het gewoonweg verlucht te worden; een wat hogere prijs hebben de vakgenoot en liefhebber er graag voor over.

Waarom wordt Hagens werk, dat afgaande op de titel niets met onze vroegere koloniën heeft te maken, in dit tijdschrift besproken? Omdat die titel de lading niet geheel blijkt te dekken. Nog afgezien van de – nogal hybride – paragraaf 'Indiëgangers' in het inleidende gedeelte en tal van over het boek verspreide passages die aan Nederlands-Indië raken, figureren er te midden van de portretten van in Nederland werkzame journalisten een drietal van 'Indische origine': Conrad Busken Huet, P.A. Daum en W. Walraven. Niet toevallig van juist die koloniale prominenten over wie door uitvoerige studies veel bekend is. Hagen, belezen en gevoelig voor kwaliteit, kon de verleiding niet weerstaan het drietal z'n boek binnen te moffelen. 'Moffelen', inderdaad, want een verantwoording daarvan laat hij achterwege. Had Hagen dat wel gedaan, dan had hij zich wellicht gesteld gezien tegenover de vraag waarom hij aan niet meer dan aan slechts die drie een plek heeft gegund in zijn portrettengalerij. Zijn antwoord zou dan hoogstwaarschijnlijk geluid hebben, dat er behalve over de genoemden – de figuur van de Bataviasë dagbladschrijver Karel Zaalberg (over wie een dissertatie verscheen) had overigens ook niet misstaan in zijn boek – vrijwel niets bekend was over de Indische journalistiek en haar beoefenaars, en hij het derhalve bij die schamele drie had moeten laten.

Sinds kort weten we¹ – in ieder geval wat de periode tot 1905 betreft – dat Indië een aantal journalisten heeft voortgebracht, die qua niveau en/of maatschappelijke betekenis zich met gemak kunnen meten met hun meest

¹ Hagens boek en mijn *Journalisten en heethoofden; Een geschiedenis van de Indisch-Nederlandse dagbladpers, 1744-1905* verschenen ongeveer tegelijkertijd, zodat de auteur vrijwel geen gebruik meer kon maken van de in laatstgenoemd boek neergelegde resultaten.

vooraanstaande collegae-tijdgenoten in het vaderland: H.J. Lion ('vader van de Indische journalistiek'), C.E. van Kesteren, P. Brooshooft (beiden wegbereiders van de 'ethische richting'), L.N.H.A. Chatelin (grondlegger van de Sumatraanse pers) en M. van Geuns (exponent van het conservatieve 'suierkapitaal'), om mij maar te beperken tot dit vijftal, waren naast Busken Huet en Daum zeer getalenteerde scribenten met grote invloed. Ook voor de periode na 1905 dienen zich die talenten aan: Zaalberg noemde ik al, daarnaast grootheden – hoe men ook over hun politieke denkbeelden en invloed moge denken – als Karel Wybrands, M. Vierhout, A.J. Lievegoed, Th. Thomas, H.C. Zentgraaff en nog een aantal anderen wier carrière en betekenis nog uit de leggers te voorschijn moeten worden gesnuffeld.²

Hoe komt het toch, een vraag die voor mij een belangrijke drijfveer was om Hagens boek hier te bespreken, dat Nederlandse pershistorici de Indische Nederlandstalige journalistiek vrijwel nooit in hun geschiedschrijving betrokken? Omdat het hun waarschijnlijk ontbrak aan interesse voor Indië, of – in het beste geval – omdat de kolonie voor hen een vreemd-vage wereld vertegenwoordigde, wier uitingsvormen – zo voelde men het aan en niet ten onrechte – om een 'aparte' wijze van benadering vroegen. In het bekende handboek van Maarten Schneider en Joan Hemels, *De Nederlandse krant 1618-1978; Van 'Nieuwstydinghe' tot dagblad* bijvoorbeeld vindt men geen woord over de Indische journalistiek, terwijl er toch op z'n minst enige reflectie had kunnen worden gewijd aan de velerlei relaties tussen de vaderlandse en de Indische – ruimer genomen: koloniale – pers. Er dringt zich hier een parallel op met de geschiedschrijving van de Indisch-Nederlandse letterkunde. Opvallend is immers dat er bij de schrijvers van de handboeken van de Nederlandse letterkunde – vanaf de negentiende eeuw tot en met 'Knuvelder' uit de jaren zestig en zeventig van de vorige eeuw – geen of nauwelijks belangstelling bestond voor de door onze vroegere kolonie geïnspireerde literatuur. Indië lag simpelweg buiten hun gezichtskring. Pas door Gerard Brom, E. Du Perron en vooral Rob Nieuwenhuys, door hun interesse of afkomst gericht op Indië, werd een tot dusver in de schaduw gebleven gebied in de lichtkring getrokken. Met als gevolg dat deze koloniale letterkunde – met erkenning van haar bijzondere kenmerken – langzamerhand een waardevol onderdeel is gaan vormen van het Nederlandse literaire landschap.

De Indische letterkunde is voortgekomen uit een geheel eigen 'leefklimaat'. In datzelfde klimaat heeft de Indische pers haar bijzondere rol vervuld. In politiek, sociaal en cultureel opzicht was zij 'anders' dan die in Nederland. 'Anders', en daarom uitdagend! Nu de kennis van haar geschiedenis dankzij de arbeid van koloniale 'specialiteiten' de laatste decennia snel toeneemt, zal zij naar ik verwacht veel meer dan voorheen de aandacht gaan trekken van

² Samen met Anneke Scholte werk ik aan het vervolgdeel op *Journalisten en heethoofden*.

de tot dusver vooral in de vaderlandse pers geïnteresseerde historici, en zal zij op den duur haar – zij het specifieke – plaats krijgen toegewezen binnen de Nederlandstalige journalistiek. Hagen bijt hier met zijn *Journalisten in Nederland* min of meer de spits af. Busken Huet, Daum en Walraven horen er voor hem helemaal bij. Dat zal dan ook wel de reden geweest zijn, waarom hij het niet nodig vond zich te verantwoorden voor dat Indische gezelschap.

Bart de Prins, *Voor keizer en koning; Leonard du Bus de Gisignies 1780–1849; Commissaris-Generaal van Nederlands-Indië*. Amsterdam: Balans, 2002, 288 pp. ISBN 90.5018.577.0. Prijs: EUR 25 (paperback).

AMY E. WASSING

'U die trouw bent gebleven aan het wettelijk gezag, en u ook die, zoals vele anderen, tot het besef bent gekomen dat het beter is achter het koloniaal bestuur te staan: u kan rekenen op onze bescherming [...]. U allen die de voorspoedigheid van uw land, het lot van uw vrouwen en kinderen en het behoud van uw geloof ter harte nemen, verenig u onder de vlag waaronder u vecht voor uw land, voor uw meest dierbaren, voor uw goed, voor uw geloof ! Verenig u en uw broeders!' (p. 149).

Met deze, op Frans revolutionaire leest geschoeide tekst, riep Leonard du Bus de Gisignies op 26 september 1827 het Javaanse volk op om zich niet te scharen achter de Javaanse vrijheidsstrijder Diponegoro. Hierin komt de persoonlijkheid van commissaris-generaal du Bus de Gisignies kernachtig tot uiting; een Belg, gevormd tijdens de hoogtijdagen van de Franse revolutie die zijn revolutionaire ideeën ongewijzigd op de Indische kolonie wilde toepassen. Willem I zag in hem een bekwaam, loyaal politicus en de juiste persoon om (financiële) orde op zaken te stellen in Indië. Volgens de koning had gouverneur-generaal G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (1816-1826) daar tijdens de 10 jaar van zijn bewind weinig goeds verricht: de kolonie kostte veel geld, de financiën waren een chaos en er woedde een geldverslindende Java-oorlog.

Du Bus, die begin 1826 op Java arriveerde, weigerde zich aan te passen aan het tropische klimaat. Hij was vaak ziek en verbleef meer in de koele bergen dan in het bestuurlijk centrum Batavia. Van de Javaanse cultuur had hij geen flauw benul en hij had geen idee hoe het koloniale bestuur daar het beste mee kon omgaan. In tegenstelling tot zijn voorganger Van der Capellen, wist hij de administratie en de financiën op orde te brengen.

Conform de eisen van de koning vestigde hij in de kolonie de Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij en de Javasche Bank. Groot twistpunt bleef de koloniale exploitatiepolitiek: wel of geen particulier grondbezit. Volgens Du Bus moesten (niet-) Nederlandse investeerders de mogelijkheid krijgen om land te bezitten. Evenals Van der Capellen, vond hij dat de Javaanse boer, na het betalen van landrente, vrij moest kunnen beschikken over zijn gewassen. Daar Du Bus niet snel genoeg resultaat boekte stuurde Willem I al in 1829 Johannes van den Bosch als opvolger. Terug in Brussel werd de teleurgestelde Du Bus benoemd tot minister van Staat. Hier werd hij geconfronteerd met de strijd voor de onafhankelijkheid van België. Hij besloot zich hiervan te distantiëren en verhuisde naar kasteel De Renesse in Oostmalle, waar hij tot zijn dood in 1849 bleef wonen.

Met deze handelseditie van zijn proefschrift heeft Bart Prins een boeiend portret van een interessante staatsman neergezet. In de Nederlandse geschiedschrijving is niet eerder uitvoerig aandacht besteed aan Du Bus. Er wordt niet alleen een goed beeld geschetst van de ervaringen van Du Bus in Indië maar ook van de geschiedenis van de zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de Franse- en Nederlandse overheersing en de onafhankelijkheidsstrijd. Prins schept daarmee een waardevol kader voor de vorming van Du Bus als politicus. Dankzij deze beeldvorming is het mogelijk een voorstelling te maken van de dilemma's waarvoor Du Bus op Java kwam te staan. Hij kreeg een onmogelijke taak in een zeer machtige functie toebedeeld, zonder dat hij enige kennis van de kolonie had.

Het grootste deel van het boek behelst een droge weergave van de historische feiten. Nauwelijks komen gevoelens of gedachten van Du Bus naar voren. Pas aan het einde komen persoonlijke gegevens aan bod, zoals de dood van zijn vrouw en twee kinderen, zijn tegenstand tegen het huwelijk van zijn zoon met een dienstmeid en zijn liefde voor het verzamelen van tropische natuurhistorische objecten die hij aan zijn zoon schenkt voor het Musée de Bruxelles. Ondanks zijn korte verblijf op Java heeft hij de herinnering daaraan levend gehouden door de oosterse voorwerpen die hem thuis omringden (hij zou een Javaans bed gehad hebben), door zijn geadopteerde Javaanse zoon Eemtje, de ruzie met de Nederlandse regering over zijn pensioen en zijn thee-onderneming Sawangan.

Prins is er in geslaagd om twee hiaten in de geschiedschrijving van de Nederlandse expansiegeschiedenis op te vullen: de biografie van Leonard du Bus de Gisignies en de Zuid-Nederlandse geschiedenis in de periode 1790-1825.

Michaela Appel, *Hajatan in Pekayon; Feste bei Heirat und Beschneidung in einem westjavanischen Dorf*. München: Verlag des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde, 2001, 160 pp. [Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde, Beiheft I.] ISBN 3.9272270.2.7. Price: EUR 17.90 (paperback).

ROBERT WESSING

In this brief, well-illustrated book, Michaela Appel shows how social, economic and cosmic relations in West Java are expressed in the *hajatan*, a ritual focused on a meal in which family, neighbours, close relations and spirit entities are invited to participate. The degree to which the *hajatan*, as elsewhere in Austronesia, is a normal part of life is clear from the way it is talked about: as *gawe* or *kariya* (work), rather than the more recently adopted, official *upcara* (ceremony). It is a 'work of the gods', in Firth's terms, in which offerings make visible the world of invisible beings (p. 57) – or better, make visible the invisible part of the world, given the involvement of these beings in people's daily life.

Central to the proceedings is a figure called *candoli*, usually a woman who keeps track of and portions out the rice needed to feed the guests. She prepares offerings for and burns incense to, among others, the rice-spirit (*pohaci*) and the ancestors, and through her skills assures the smooth progress of the affair. The placement of these offerings depicts the structure of the cosmos, in which the rice storeroom from which she operates stands central. Proper offerings are important, because people feel themselves surrounded by influences coming from the four directions, and spirits may become upset if they feel themselves slighted.

The first part of the book is about *hajatan* in the village of Pekayon, describing in careful ethnographic detail both the proceedings themselves and the economic relationships that make them possible. I return to the latter below. The second part of the book, 'The proper way to treat rice', places this local information in its wider Sundanese and mythological context. The author has compiled information from four older residents which gives us a general picture of customs and beliefs that are tending to disappear under the pressure of modernization and the advance of Islam. We learn about customs relating to planting, harvesting and the storage of rice, offerings in the field and the granary, and the names of the plant at various stages of its growth, as well as its proper treatment at each stage. Much of this parallels customs relating to women's pregnancy, not surprising given the symbolic equivalence between women and rice.

Two myths dealing with rice and the origin of these customs are related, *Sulanjana* and *Lutung Kasarung*, from which the origin of the various customs

and taboos becomes clear. Thus, a woman may not interrupt the cooking or leave the rice before it is fully cooked. This relates to an episode in the *Sulanjana* myth in which the king sneaks a peek in the rice pan while his nymph-wife is bathing, causing the magic to disappear and current ways of cooking rice to come about. In this myth *Sulanjana*, son of a god, feels he must marry the *pohaci* (spirit) of rice. In preparation he washes his penis, causing the water to turn red. He then walks back with his legs spread. Appel's inability to understand this episode as a circumcision (p. 90) is strange given that both a cold bath beforehand and the 'bowlegged' walk after are (or were) typical features of circumcision, something required prior to marriage perhaps even before the introduction of Islam.

The myth *Lutung Kasarung* tells how plants, various kitchen utensils and weaving came into existence in conjunction with rice, and goes into considerable detail about how rice is to be treated. This knowledge is imparted by the primary heavenly *candoli*, *Pohaci Wiru Manangga*, who teaches it to the maiden *Purba Sari* and by extension to all women. Also clear from this myth is the deep mythical relationship between the rice goddess/plant and women, even after the advent of Islam when the *pohaci* became *Nyai Dewi Patimah*, named after the Prophet's daughter *Fatimah*. Every woman who deals with rice participates in the *pohaci*, who makes possible the feeding of the guests at the *hajatan* to which she is invited. The *candoli* at the *hajatan*, representing the heavenly one, mediates between rice and people, and makes sure that the instructions and customs are observed. Comparing myth with reality in *Pekayon*, the author notes a sometimes-verbatim correspondence: for instance, the hope that a single grain will suffice, reflecting the magical rice of the *Sulanjana* myth. This comparison could have been broader, since ideas of a magical type of rice that fed many but was lost due to human error are also found elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

A sub-theme in the book is about the financing of these *hajatan*, which are often rather costly affairs. To this end a form of social banking has developed in which households donate rice and money to the celebrating party, expecting an equivalent return at a similar event in the future. Since these gifts and counter-gifts are part of an ongoing cycle of rituals, households become enmeshed in a set of relationships from which they only slowly withdraw at the end of their lives. Other forms of banking include rotating credit associations through which a household can accumulate the cash needed to finance its social responsibilities, though the recent economic crisis has lessened the importance of this cash supply somewhat. In brief, this is a worthwhile treatment of rice in West Java, filled with ethnographic detail that both student and expert will find reason to consult repeatedly.

Matthew Jones, *Conflict and confrontation in South East Asia, 1961-1965; Britain, the United States, Indonesia and the creation of Malaysia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, xv + 325 pp. ISBN 0.521.80111.7. Price: GBP 45 (hardback).

NICHOLAS J. WHITE

Meticulously researched, clearly written and cogently argued, this book is a major contribution to the international history of maritime Southeast Asia. As Matthew Jones points out, the focus on the Vietnam War has induced a historiographical amnesia concerning Britain and Malaysia's *Konfrontasi* with Sukarno's Indonesia between 1963 and 1966. This latter struggle, albeit a limited and undeclared guerrilla war, was a major threat to 'Western' interests in the region, nearly derailing the creation of Malaysia in September 1963 and involving on the UK side alone the deployment of over 60,000 service personnel, 200 aircraft and 80 naval vessels.

As well as restoring Confrontation to its proper place in the history of Southeast Asia, Jones's focus is on Anglo-American relations in this tense period. From this, two major themes emerge which have a wider significance for end-of-empire and post-imperial studies in the region (and beyond). The forging of a pro-Western Malaysia and the apparent 'containment' of radical Indonesia during the 1960s might appear as classic examples of an Anglo-American coalition, which according to Wm. Roger Louis and Ronald Robinson was central in the ending of the British empire – see 'The imperialism of decolonization', *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*, 22, 3 (1994). Jones's study, however, reveals that Britain could not always rely on US support for its 'neo-colonial' strategies 'east of Suez'. Sukarno's predilection for 'ladies of the night' did not endear him to US policy-makers. Yet for much of the period under review, the Kennedy administration was prepared to appease Jakarta in an attempt to prevent a Communist coup or stop Sukarno himself from edging further towards the Soviet Union and/or the People's Republic of China (PRC).

This tendency, as Jones elaborates in Chapter I, overrode both Dutch arguments about safeguarding native rights in the West New Guinea dispute, and the close relations of the United States with The Hague. It underscored the multi-million dollar American economic stabilization programme for Indonesia proposed from 1961. Hence, until JFK's assassination in November 1963, Washington tended to view the bolstering of Sukarno, and not (as the British tried to argue) the formation of 'Greater Malaysia', as the key to containing the PRC in Southeast Asia. It was only the change in personnel under the Lyndon Johnson regime, and the increasing linkage of Indonesian problems to Vietnam from early 1964, which brought about final agreement

on Southeast Asian affairs on both sides of the Atlantic. Having said that, however, a cosy relationship remained elusive. When the British raised concerns about Operation Rolling Thunder in February 1965, Johnson curtly told Prime Minister Harold Wilson that 'I won't tell you how to run Malaysia and you don't tell us how to run Vietnam' (p. 287). Subsequently, the Americans were to be deeply disappointed by the Labour government's military withdrawal from the region once Suharto replaced Sukarno and Confrontation came to an unexpectedly swift finale.

The second major theme which emerges from Jones's book, is the limits of Western influence on local political developments in Southeast Asia. Sukarno's anti-Malaysia stance was, of course, based upon the notion that the enlarged federation under the anglophile Tunku Abdul Rahman was a 'neo-colonialist plot'. But, as the two chapters on Malaysia's foundation emphasize, 'decision-makers in London had repeatedly to respond to the priorities of local actors in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, who were able to set the agenda and force the pace of change' (p. 296). 'Greater Malaysia' was also significantly compromised by Brunei's stubborn refusal to join, followed by Singapore's ignominious departure in August 1965. The latter event was clearly foreshadowed by the last-minute manoeuvring of Lee Kuan Yew, and the general antipathy of the People's Action Party regime in Singapore and the Alliance in Kuala Lumpur already evident in September 1963, leading prime minister Harold Macmillan to lament in his diary: 'how much more difficult it is to get rid of an Empire than to win it' (pp. 191-2).

Yet, in revealing the latitude available to local political actors, this study points to an obvious hole in our knowledge. In particular, there remains much ambiguity about Indonesian foreign policy. For example, as Jones himself ponders, why did Jakarta apparently acquiesce in the Manila settlement of August 1963, only to launch an economic boycott of the Malaysia territories one month later? We still need research into Indonesian (and Malaysian) archives, therefore, to complete the bizarre Confrontation story. Unfortunately, given the prevailing restrictive research environment in Southeast Asia, this may not be possible for quite some time.

Peter Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian world; Transmission and responses*. London: Hurst, 2001, xvii + 349 pp. ISBN 1.85065.336.4. Price: GBP 35 (hardback).

EDWIN WIERINGA

This book about 'Islam and the Malay-Indonesian world' deals with the intellectual struggles which have played a vital role in shaping the appearance of Islam as a religion in insular Southeast Asia from the earliest beginning in the late thirteenth century until the present day. In his attempt to sketch an overview of Islamic theological thinking in this region, Riddell adopts a textual attitude, making an excursion through a selection of mainly Malay and a few Javanese Islamic writings. Pride of place is given to the discipline of the interpretation of the Qur'ān, known as *tafsīr*, in Arabic and Malay. As the author is a specialist in the latter field, this line of approach lends his work an added value not found in other textbooks about Islam in Indonesia.

The main thrust of this book is that old debates from the Muslim 'heartland' were taking place in reverse order in the Malay-Indonesian world: in the early phases of Islamization in insular Southeast Asia, religious discussions were played out between what Riddell calls 'the *shari'a*-minded' and the 'speculative Sufis'. This controversy, in his opinion, 'needed first to be resolved' (p. 322, emphasis added) before debate could centre on the 'revelation versus reason' issue when, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, modernists and traditionalists came to dominate the arena. Even allowing for the fact that this book is designed for a non-specialist lay public, it seems to me that Riddell may be oversimplifying things here. Did the nineteenth century really represent a 'watershed' in Islamic thinking (p. 317) as he claims? Leaving aside the term 'speculative Sufis', which to my mind is a pleonasm, I wonder whether the age-old war of words between this group and the so-called *shari'a*-minded ever ended. Could it not be said to continue to the present day, merely couched in the different guise of debates between 'traditionalists' and 'modernists'?

Writing his history from the vantage point of the present-day situation, Riddell may easily give the impression that certain local histories can stand for the Malay-Indonesian world as a whole. From his choice of primary focal points it would appear, for example, as if in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries specific debates among certain scholars in Aceh (described under the heading 'Sufis in conflict') were somehow representative for the intellectual scene throughout the archipelago at that time. Present-mindedness, furthermore, may obscure Shiite influences upon the development of Islam in the Malay-speaking world. In my opinion the mere fact that the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, a Shiite text of the more extreme kind,

was received into Malay literature at all, and in fact achieved considerable popularity up till the fairly recent period, is already of great significance. Nevertheless, although observing in passing the fundamental differences of opinion between Sunnis and Shiites about Islamic law, Riddell feels no need to address this issue in detail 'given the overriding predominance of Sunni Islam in the Malay world' (p. 51). The latter argument suggests that we are dealing here with a fact of life that does not need further explanation.

In view of his repeated observations about the 'dominance of narrative/story-based exegesis' (p. 166), it is remarkable that Riddell pays so little attention to what are known in the Muslim world as *adab* works. I also fear that the background of this sort of literature may not always be immediately clear to the general reader from the examples given here. Regarding an early eighteenth-century Javanese Alexander romance, for example, Riddell remarks that it is 'no mere re-run of a standard Islamic account', but rather a 'strongly contextualised' interpretation, 'with the Islamic tale firmly set within a Javanese context' (p. 174). This point, however, is not in any way elucidated, and judging from the reference in an accompanying footnote, the reader is expected to consult Ricklefs' 1998 analysis of the *Serāt Iskandar* in order to find out what it is that makes this story so typically Javanese.

Another example concerns what Riddell calls 'a 16th-century Javanese anthology' (pp. 135-7). It is duly mentioned that the text in question was studied in detail by Kraemer in his 1921 doctoral thesis, but apparently Riddell's own knowledge of this Javanese work is solely based on its 'condensed translation into English' in a popularizing overview, Rippin and Knappert's 1986 *Textual sources for the study of Islam*. Riddell does not provide the bibliographical details of Kraemer's study, and nor does he inform his readers about the important re-editing of the text by Drewes in 1954. Riddell's suggestion that 'the author/s of this anthology intended to produce a work which was accessible to as wide an audience as possible' (p. 137) would seem to be in direct conflict with Kraemer and Drewes' characterization of the text as a *primbon* that is, a personal vademecum intended for private study purposes.

For those teaching introductory courses on Islam in insular Southeast Asia, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian world* is a most interesting choice to put on the reading list. This highly accessible book may serve as a reminder to students that the religious dimension of Islam in modern Southeast Asia should not be forgotten. Riddell rightly points out that nowadays there is 'decreasing interest among western scholars in theological matters, with a corresponding increase in interest in politics and society', reflecting a Western assumption that the sacred and the secular can be separated – a thesis not necessarily shared by Southeast Asian Muslims (p. 2). A strong point of Riddell's account is his sound knowledge of the scriptural and theological issues discussed in primary manuscript sources. Upon closer inspection, however, these materi-

als, listed in Table 14.1 on pages 318-20, appear to be only few in number. Perhaps more than anything else, this state of affairs graphically illustrates the dearth of philological studies in the field. If we reflect on future studies of the subject, the fact that up to now so little is known about the thousands of relevant manuscripts in the major collections may give food for thought.

Stuart Robson and Singgih Wibisono (with the assistance of Yacinta Kurniasih), *Javanese-English dictionary*. Singapore: Periplus, 2002, 821 pp. ISBN 0.7946.0000.X. Price: USD 39.95 (hardback).

EDWIN WIERINGA

The best and most comprehensive dictionary of Javanese is still the fourth and last edition of a Javanese-Dutch dictionary which is popularly known as the 'Gericke-Roorda' (first edition 1847; second 1875; third 1886), published in two stout volumes in 1901. When this was first felt to be out of date in 1925, the colonial government entrusted the philologist Pigeaud with the task of preparing an improved and updated edition for a new generation, and from 1926 until 1942 he worked with his Javanese staff at this ambitious job. As they gathered words from written sources, a useful by-product of the dictionary project was the transliteration of dozens of Javanese manuscripts, typescript copies of which are now kept at the Museum Sonobudoyo in Yogyakarta, the Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, the Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia and the Library of Leiden University. But although Pigeaud's dictionary project was also to produce other, in themselves valuable, spin-offs such as his 1933 synopsis of the encyclopaedic *Centhini* and his 1938 overview of Javanese performing arts, the task of preparing a new 'Gericke-Roorda' proved to take more time than anticipated. In 1938, Pigeaud therefore decided to publish a very much abbreviated version which was no more than an 'index' (his own term) to the envisaged big dictionary. The Second World War and its aftermath definitively dashed all hopes of ever finishing the commission, and although Pigeaud would have a long and productive life until his death in 1988, he never resumed his lexicographical work, apart from bringing out a concise Dutch-Javanese dictionary and a Dutch-Javanese/Javanese-Dutch pocket dictionary, both in 1948.

For a long time now, the continual reprinting of Pigeaud's 1938 Javanese-Dutch dictionary has served as a stark reminder that the lexicography of Modern Javanese has more or less come to a halt. The excellent monolingual *Baoesastra Djawa* compiled by Poerwadarminta (assisted by Hardjasoedarma

and Poedjasoedira) in 1939 was largely based on Pigeaud's lexicon, while Horne's Javanese-English dictionary of 1974 was no more than a rehash of Pigeaud's and Poerwadarminta's materials, supplemented with some new post-war data. Although some other dictionaries also appeared, such as Herrfürth's Javanese-German dictionary (1972) and several Javanese-Indonesian dictionaries, these works did not remedy the existing situation. When reading Javanese texts I always consult Gericke-Roorda, Poerwadarminta, Pigeaud and (if need be) Horne, in that order, and experience has taught me that if words cannot be found there, a search in the other dictionaries is to little avail. Needless to say, exceptions have to be made for specialist lexicons dealing with proverbs and idiomatic expressions, and for reference books on such specific topics as *wayang*, chronograms, *dasanama*, *wangsalan* or flora and fauna which, understandably, more often than not outclass the standard dictionaries.

In recent years, however, there has been a sudden revival of interest in Javanese lexicography. Activities in the field of dictionary-making reached a peak in 2001, which in Indonesia may perhaps have had something to do with the Third Congress on the Javanese Language in that particular year. I know of no fewer than six dictionaries that first saw the light of day in 2001. A monolingual dictionary with the promising title of *Kamus pepak basa Jawa* was produced by the Badan Pekerja Kongres Basa Jawa, edited by Sudaryanto and Pranowo, while a team of the Balai Bahasa at Yogyakarta published their monolingual *Kamus basa Jawa (Bausastra Jawa)* which was reprinted as quickly as the following year. Mangunswito put the more commercial *Kamus lengkap bahasa Jawa* on the market, including Javanese-Javanese, Javanese-Indonesian and Indonesian-Javanese sections. Two old hands at Javanese language teaching, the retired lecturers Haryana Harjawiya and Th. Supriya, brought out their prescriptive *Kamus unggah-ungguh basa Jawa*. In addition I happened to see a *Kamus bahasa Cirebon*, compiled by T.D. Sudjana and others, and I should not be surprised if more of such locally produced dictionaries of Javanese dialects also appeared. Outside Indonesia, Vrugink (in co-operation with Sarmo) compiled a Surinam Javanese-Dutch dictionary aimed at the Surinam Javanese community, especially the younger speakers among them, of whom Vrugink (2001:x) states that 'due to several causes' they are finding it increasingly difficult to speak and understand their own language. Here we find a reflection of the frustration, long felt in Indonesia, about what is commonly referred to as '*basa Jawi sampun risak*' ('the Javanese language is in ruins') – a sentiment which clearly also inspired the above-mentioned endeavour of Harjawiya and Supriya.

And now there is a new Javanese-English dictionary. According to the publisher's blurb on the dust jacket, this is 'completely new and up-to-date', encompassing 'the whole vocabulary needed both for everyday communica-

tion and in order to read published materials'. It also represents 'a resource long needed by language scholars, students of Javanese history and society and visitors with an interest in the traditional culture'. Apparently all this could be packed into little more than 800 pages. Robson, who wrote the introduction to this dictionary, has a more modest story to tell, explaining that the new book in fact constitutes a reworking of older dictionaries. The data in the dictionaries by Pigeaud, Poerwadarminta and Horne, supplemented with those by Gericke-Roord and Jansz, were used to compile a 'new' dictionary, while no attempt was made 'to analyse fresh materials in a systematic way' (p. 15). The editors had to work on a tight budget and could only spend a few years on it. Their aim was to offer 'a concise dictionary of Modern Javanese that might replace Pigeaud and Horne, for the benefit of foreign students of the language' (p. 15). Necessarily derivative, then, the novelty of this dictionary is not to be sought in a new collection, or corpus, of Javanese words, but rather in a better explanation of the already assembled vocabulary.

The actual dictionary (pp. 21-821) is preceded by a short introduction in which Robson also pays attention to the history of the lexicography of Javanese. About Pigeaud's dictionary project he writes that its materials, consisting of large cards kept in wooden boxes, are now held in the office of the Balai Penelitian Bahasa in Kotabaru, Yogyakarta. On two occasions Robson inspected them, but he found out that the cards contained nothing but unusable handwritten selections from sources which made him conclude that 'the efforts of Pigeaud's team of clerks, and himself, over the years were largely wasted' (p. 11). Robson does not state when he exactly visited this collection, but I myself vividly remember the strong feeling of *gila* (translated on p. 248 as 'to be revolted, find loathsome') that engulfed me when, back in 1991, upon opening one of the boxes I looked a mouse in the face. Already disappointed by the poor contents of the other files that I had examined until then, it was not really a saddening experience to see nature taking its course before my very eyes.

Robson, however, forgets to mention that one letter of Pigeaud's big dictionary, the letter R, was in fact completed, and a typescript of this completed section is kept in the Library of Leiden University under Cod. Or. 11.034. Occasionally this little-known source may yield some results. Take, for example, *rangu-rangu*, translated in Robson-Wibisono, following Pigeaud and Horne, as 'doubtful, hesitant, unable to make up one's mind'. In his major dictionary, Pigeaud slightly altered Gericke-Roord's explanation to the following: 'steeds moeten denken aan iets, ongerust, met weemoed', giving the example *sayektiné tan bisa wak mami / nenggulang tyasingong / rangu-rangu kudu katon baé*, which he translated as 'ik kan mijn hart niet bedwingen, steeds denk ik aan haar, ik kan niet anders dan haar steeds voor ogen zien'. This is an excerpt from 'BG 100-101', which refers to the versified *wayang* play *Balé*

Gala-Gala (Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 1869); only the final line of this stanza is quoted in Gericke-Roord. . . .

In his introduction Robson notes, among other things, the difficulty of identifying words as belonging to 'standard' Javanese or to a 'dialect'. Particularly for items which do not occur in written sources, he rightly observes, one is dependent on informants (p. 13). Here opinions may easily diverge. In Robson-Wibisono, for example, *pekok* is said to be regional, but I am sure of having it heard being used in Central Java. Incidentally, the common colloquial form *tingwé* (= *linting dhéwé*) is not included (equally absent in the standard dictionaries). In cases of missing items a reviewer can always smugly score a point, but it would be absurd to ask for a 'complete' dictionary. Looking up words in the headword list, nevertheless, I feel that more sub-entries could have been given. We find, for example, *ma lima*, but not the equally common term *ma pitu* (seven reprehensible acts beginning with the letter *m*, namely: *madat*, *minium*, *main*, *madon*, *mangani*, *maling*, *mada*, though other *m*-words are also possible). Furthermore, *ma lima* is incorrectly placed under *ma* II 'five', which is explained as a shortened form of *lima*. Although *ma* certainly can also have this latter meaning, here it should be understood as simply denoting the letter *m* (*aksara ma* in the Javanese alphabet), *ma lima* being a rendering of Sanskrit *pañca-makāra* 'the five *m*'s'. Moralistic texts entitled *Ma Pitu* or *Mim Pitu* (after the letter *mīm* 'm' of the Arabic alphabet) are part of Modern Javanese literature. The entry *endhog asin* 'salted egg' can be found under *asin*, but the additional meaning 'light blue' is left out (example: *bayaké endhog asin* 'her *kebaya* is/was light blue', referring to the colour of salted duck eggs). *Cangkem* is explained, among other meanings, as crude in the sense of 'bad words', but the derivation *kecangkeman* 'to let angry words slip' is missing here. Under *bèthèt* 'green parakeet' the expression *bèthèt sèwu* is omitted (also absent under *sèwu*). Under *tut* 'along, following' only *nge-tut*, *ngetutaké* and *tut-buri* (Ngoko)/*tut-wingking* (Krama) are included, and not *panutan* 'a person who is followed or imitated' (as in *nabi panutan*, the Prophet Muhammad), or the well-known slogan *Tut-wuri andayani*, which is also missing here under *daya*. Perhaps in keeping with the general aim of helping students with learning contemporary Javanese, rather than attempting to present a historical record of the language, only the modern meaning of the term *pépé* (under *pé* and *pépé*) is explained and not the historical practice of *pépé*, which was customary for a subject in search of justice vis-à-vis his superiors.

The claim in the publisher's blurb that this dictionary contains 'many examples of usage' is not true: there are no genuine or invented pieces of text that help to show the meaning of a word by showing it in use. The claim, however, that it provides clear English translations and explanations is correct. The definitions are brief and to the point. A marvel of clarity, Robson-

Wibisono is thus pleasantly different from Pigeaud's work which tends to employ a welter of rather opaque, antiquated Dutch words (sometimes difficult to understand even for native speakers of Dutch) in order to catch virtually every subtle nuance of Javanese words. Moreover, it definitively supersedes Horne's dictionary, which is marred by frequent howlers. Thumbing Robson-Wibisono, I detected only a few instances in which alternative interpretations might perhaps be possible. *Bapa-babu* is explained as 'revered ancestor(s)' (not included in Horne and Pigeaud), but Poerwadarminta's gloss '*kang mengkon*' is more to the point – as, for instance, in '*ingkang minangka bapa-babuning ratu ing tanah Jawi sedaya*' (see Gericke-Roorda under *babu*, with the explanation 'die tot vader en moeder (d.i. tot beschermer) verstrekt van al de Vorsten van Java') or in '*mila kakasih Bima, kadang gangsal ageng piyambak, minangka bapa-babuné nata Pandhawa*' – see Uhlenbeck (1960:16), who translates this phrase as 'hij heet B., omdat hij van de vijf broers de grootste is en dient als toeverlaat van de P.-vorsten'. The expression *ngudubilahi* is given here as *ngudubilah* 'God preserve me! (uttered when one is shocked, stunned)', but it may also function (at least in literary texts) as a synonym for *banget* (Ngoko)/*sanget* (Krama) 'very (much), extremely', as in *gandané ngudubilahi* or *ayuné ngudubilahi*. For the explanation of *istidrat* or *istijrat*, Robson and Wibisono follow Horne who gives 'idol, image', but Pigeaud is a better guide here, translating it as 'miraculous power (of infidels)'; an extensive discussion of this Arabic loan word can be found in Soebardi (1975:171). The jocular expression *kucing endhasé ireng* is translated as 'thief', but Horne's additional explanation, 'euph[emistic] remark made when s[ome]th[ing] is discovered to be missing', would have been helpful here.

Concerning terminology from the field of *wayang*, which is said to be the speciality of the co-editor of this dictionary, I missed the common expression *nok-non* for *nuwun*. The set phrase *gendhak sikara* is taken from Horne as 'to disturb', but it actually means 'maltreating innocents' (Uhlenbeck 1960:13). *Jalma* (or *janma*) *mara*, *jalma mati*, another standard expression in *wayang* which denotes a dangerous and deadly place, is not included (it is also omitted in Pigeaud and Horne).

Fortunately this book is not riddled with typographical errors; I only noted the erroneous caption 'A-apple' at the top of page 526. It is also well-edited; minor flaws include the fact that *sengkala* is explained as a variant of *sangkala*, whereas the latter word is missing: Under *kuntul*, furthermore, we find that the saying *kuntul diunèkaké dhandhang* (literally 'a [white] heron is called a [black] crow', but as a rule Robson and Wibisono apparently deem it superfluous to add literal translations in the case of proverbs and idiomatic expressions) is explained as 'to call white black; to distort facts, twist the truth', whereas under *dhandhang* it is only given the more specific meaning of 'a bad man made out to be good'.

Although foreign students of Modern Javanese are obviously the prime target group, the practical usefulness of this clear, concise and reliable dictionary extends well beyond the confines of Indonesia's most prominent regional language. Since large-scale lexical borrowing from Javanese continues to be a dominant feature of contemporary Indonesian, Robson-Wibisono will also prove to be a most valuable supplement to the existing Indonesian-English dictionaries.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

HENK SCHULTE NORDHOLT

Turning towards the regions: less state, more democracy?

Coen Holtzappel, Martin Sanders and Milan Titus (eds), *Riding a tiger; Dilemmas of integration and decentralization in Indonesia*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 2002, 320 pp. ISBN 90.5170.616.2. Price: EUR 25.97 (paperback).

Minako Sakai (ed.), *Beyond Jakarta; Regional autonomy and local society in Indonesia*. Adelaide: Crawford House, 2002, xvi + 354 pp. ISBN 1.86333.218.9. Price: AUD 49.95 (paperback).

Damien Kingsbury and Harry Aveling (eds), *Autonomy and disintegration in Indonesia*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, xiv + 219 pp. ISBN 0.415.29737.0. Price: USD 90 (hardback).

Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy (eds), *Local power and politics in Indonesia; Decentralisation and democracy*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003, 296 pp. [Indonesia Assessment.] ISBN 981.230202.6. Price: SGD 39.90 (paperback).

Less than a decade ago most books about Indonesian politics were almost exclusively focused on the centre of Soeharto's New Order, Jakarta, which was treated as more or less synonymous with Indonesia for political purposes. The capital was also the heart of a booming economy where an expanding middle class celebrated new expensive lifestyles. In short, Jakarta formed in many respects *the* centre while the rest of Indonesia was periphery. Don Emmerson's book *Indonesia beyond Suharto* (1999) is probably the last volume in a genre of New Order studies that uses the Jakarta-centered perspective. Although it looks beyond Suharto, it does not yet look beyond Jakarta. In a similar vein, Kevin O'Rourke (2002) applies a strictly centralist perspective in his detailed and informative account of political developments during the Reformasi years. The engine of Indonesian politics, according to O'Rourke, is still located in Jakarta and fuelled by the national elite, while the rest of Indonesia is primarily seen as a battlefield where Jakarta-based interest

groups confront each other. This is not to say that the books by Emmerson and O'Rourke have lost their relevance. On the contrary, both will become historical classics, each in its own way analysing in a very profound manner the nature of the late New Order regime and the main events, actors, intrigues and alliances during the years following Suharto's fall.

The final years of the Soeharto regime and the economic and political crisis of 1998-2001 were violent. The shift from the seemingly stable and permanent authoritarian rule of the New Order to instability and crisis motivated scholars to try to make sense of the sudden outbursts of political violence which characterized this period. Within a relatively short time no fewer than four major publications on violence in Indonesia were published or in preparation (Anderson 2001; Wessels and Wimhöfer 2001; Colombijn and Lindblad 2002; Coppel, forthcoming). The majority of the articles in these volumes, however, consist of specific case studies, and while these offer valuable information, good comparative studies which analyse the topic within a wider theoretical context are still lacking.¹

Academic fashions concerning Indonesia come and go almost as fast as presidents have succeeded each other recently, and violence has now been replaced by decentralization on the academic agenda. Both the occurrence of violent conflicts in many parts of the archipelago and the official policy of decentralization that started in 1999 have motivated many researchers to shift their attention towards the regions. The same regions that were by and large ignored during the preceding decades are now seen as the places where the real action takes place. Only a few New Order watchers had focused on political developments at the regional level (Ichlasul Amal, 1992; Schiller 1996). Since 1999, however, the market has been flooded by publications on decentralization and regional autonomy. Although Indonesian publications make up the majority of recent publications on decentralization, they are not included in this review since they form a separate genre consisting primarily of normative descriptions of formal administrative and juridical aspects of this process (see, for instance: Widjaja 2002; Susanto 2003). As such they deserve a separate review.

Riding a tiger; Dilemmas of integration and decentralization in Indonesia, edited by Coen Holtzappel, Martin Sanders and Milan Titus, is probably the first volume to appear on this topic. As such it has secured a place in history, but it lacks coherence, and both the content and the quality of the various contributions is uneven. In two rather lengthy and tortuous introductory chapters, Coen Holtzappel reviews the history of centralization and decentralization

¹ It should be noted, however, that Gerry van Klinken and John Sidel are writing such studies at the moment.

after 1945. This topic is undeniably important, because there are interesting comparisons to be made between developments during the 1950s and today.

Another set of papers does not directly address decentralization, but is focused on the Indonesian economy. Milan Titus describes regional variations in economic development under the late New Order in terms of centres and various categories of periphery, but fails to make a meaningful connection with the proliferation of new configurations that will result from decentralization. Martin Sanders, in a very brief note, mentions some complex aspects of economic decentralization without elaborating these. Henri Sandee, Juliette Koning, and Pande Made Kutaneegara and Gerben Nooteboom present local case studies of small-scale industry and the effects of the economic crisis at the village level in Java. These are interesting and empirically strong studies which deserve a stronger editorial contextualisation.

Three papers deal with culture. In another brief essay, Jan Avé offers some superficial thoughts about the transition from tribe to nation. Boedhihartono discusses the possibilities of federalism and the fate of ethnic minorities, and in doing so he illustrates at the same time the main characteristics of a Jakarta-biased top-down perspective. Robert Wessing's contribution on cosmological discourses in Java is very interesting, but I fail to see what it has to do with crisis or decentralization.

The two remaining papers deal explicitly with decentralization and regional autonomy. Mohammad Sadli provides a review of the debate on regional autonomy. As such this text was interesting when it was written in 2001, but has inevitably lost much of its relevance since. The interesting paper by Dik Roth on Luwu (Central Sulawesi) is actually the only contribution that gives an impression of the anxieties of regional autonomy in a particular local setting. Applying a historical perspective, Roth sketches how developments in the fields of administration, economy, migration, and ethnic and religious differences provided the conditions under which regional elites competed for power, and how royalty and *adat* (customary law) were used to reconcile conflicting parties, while efforts were made to establish a new province of Greater Luwu.

The book is provided with an index of no fewer than 14 pages, but it is one of the most ill conceived I have ever seen.

In contrast to *Riding a tiger, Beyond Jakarta; Regional autonomy and local society in Indonesia*, edited by Minako Sakai, is very consistent in its approach and forms a valuable collection of informative 'snapshots' of the early moments of decentralization in Indonesia.

In the first chapters William Maley, Amzulian Rifai and Whana Kirana Jaya present clear introductions to the administrative, legal and financial

aspects of decentralization. It is interesting to see that right from the beginning, critical questions are raised. Maley remarks that there is no reason to suppose that the granting of autonomy will automatically result in the emergence of a democratic structure (p. 30), while Amzulian Rifai points at administrative problems. In order to implement the decentralization laws in a proper way, it will be necessary to revoke over 1,000 government regulations and presidential decrees (p. 33). Wihana Kirana Jaya warns that decentralization may reduce the current vertical fiscal imbalance, but is likely to increase horizontal imbalances among regions (p. 39).

The next section deals with discourses of regional autonomy. Tod Jones reviews the ideas of secular intellectuals in Jakarta regarding decentralization, ideas which are still informed by the hegemony of the centre. Adrian Vickers discusses Balinese fears for loss of cultural identity as a result of threats from the outside. Kompiady Widen's paper is a partisan plea in support of Dayak autonomy after 'more than 400 years of colonization'. That his contribution originates from the 'heart of darkness' of Dayak intellectuals advocating ethnic cleansing is illustrated by his militant conclusion that 'the Dayak must play all the important roles in their region. Temporarily, the outsiders are considered as their "enemies", and therefore they fight the outsiders collectively by using a "primordial" weapon, the Dayak identity' (p. 118). This was literally put into practice when the Madurese were driven out of Central Kalimantan between February and April 2001.

The contributions by Kathryn Robinson, Phillip Winn and Iwan Dzulvan Amir deal with regional violence. Robinson presents a very thoughtful analysis of the (self-)image of Buginese migrants in eastern Indonesia and the conditions under which they were allowed to operate. As such this is one of the very few articles on regional autonomy that discusses matters of ethnicity in a very sophisticated way. Winn describes aspects of sovereignty and moral community in the northern Moluccas by focusing almost exclusively on the *cakalele* warrior's dance. Since the empirical evidence for the point he wants to make is very thin, he fails to convince me. Iwan Dzulvan Amir discusses the complicated relationship between Islam and resistance in Aceh. It is in the interests of the government to depict the GAM in terms of Muslim fundamentalism, which makes it difficult for student activists to gain international support through Muslim networks. In a similar vein, many people in Aceh were ambivalent about the introduction of *syariah* in January 2001. GAM was afraid that this was intended to sideline their demands, while many *ulama* (Islamic religious scholars) were concerned that their authority would be taken over by government institutions.

The last section concerns the role of *adat* as a means by which to formulate regional autonomy. Greg Acciaioli adds another interesting chapter to his work on this subject by investigating the comeback of *adat* rule in the To

Lindu area of Central Sulawesi, where tradition had previously been reduced to a powerless form of folklore. Both Acciaoli and Minako Sakai sketch the rise of a nationwide alliance of *adat* communities (AMAN) in Indonesia in 1999, and discuss the uneasy relationship between concepts like *adat* and 'indigenous people' which is part of a discourse that is dominated by modern NGOs staffed by urban intellectuals. Minako Sakai shows how a local branch of AMAN in South Sumatra is passively waiting for inputs from the centre, including modern office equipment. She concludes, not without cynicism: 'Having seen the workings of bureaucratic government for decades, people cannot believe that they can strengthen their community rights without having a modern office with modern technology provided by sources from the center' (p. 256). The last chapter in this section, by Yunita T. Winarto, is a case study about a farmers' self-help organization in Lampung, which has unfortunately little to do with the theme of the book.

In an afterword, James Fox points at the effects of large scale migrations – both government-sponsored transmigration to the outer islands, and spontaneous migration towards big cities and especially Jakarta – as a result of which there are no areas left where the population has neatly corresponding ethnic and religious identities. Instead, most parts of Indonesia are now inhabited by a mixture of people with diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds. This makes it difficult to formulate new uniform regional identities, and under certain conditions also provides ample ammunition for communal conflicts.

Autonomy and disintegration in Indonesia, edited by Damien Kingsbury and Harry Aveling, is more expensive but less coherent than *Beyond Jakarta*. A poem by Rendra at the first pages of the book gives a pessimistic impression of a country wounded by regional conflicts, environmental pollution, corruption, and other evils, and seems to refer to the disintegration mentioned in the title. The poet's lament is directed to Allah, but instead of discussing the changing role of (and the tensions within) Indonesian Islam, the book turns to nationalism as one of its main themes. To what extent can the nation keep Indonesians united when the strong unitary state is disintegrating? In Chapter I, Ruth McVey offers – as usual – a very clear overview of the relationship between state and nation in twentieth-century Indonesia. Following an Andersonian interpretation of the spread of nationalism, McVey emphasizes the promise of modernity that appealed to many Indonesians. Nationalism meant a break with the past and offered hopes for a better future, which included democracy and justice. However, the state gradually came to dominate the nation, and towards the end of the twentieth century both nation and state came under threat. The present crisis in Indonesia is not only an internal crisis of the nation-state, but one that is also aggravated by

pressures from advanced capitalism and globalization. To what kind of new political configurations this may lead is open to debate. Although Paul James comments on McVey's ideas in the following chapter, he unfortunately does not elaborate this point, instead criticizing her on issues that are not central to her argument.

In Chapter 3, Kumar, in contrast to McVey, follows Anthony Smith's ideas about the origin of nations, which emphasize territorial and cultural aspects. Consequently she arrives at a discussion of the role of *ethnie* and *mythomoteur* in Indonesian nationalism. After a sudden explosion of anger in which she accuses Ben Anderson of displaying both orientalism and ignorance when he wrote about the idea of power in Java (whereas she argues that Javanese had a well developed sense of political morality), Kumar continues on the subject of nationalism: because the Dutch emphasized both the territorial unity of the state and the ethnic diversity of the population, Sukarno invested heavily in national unity in order to overcome cultural differences. His ideals were, however, aborted by Suharto who deliberately stimulated cultural diversity under a strong territorial state. Although they start from different points of departure regarding the origin of the nation, both McVey and Kumar arrive at the same conclusion regarding the future of the weakened Indonesian nation-state: it remains an enigma.

The two other chapters in the first part of this book do not address nationalism, but rather discuss the political effects of decentralization. Rizal Sukma reviews in a clear way the pros and cons of federalism and the extent to which regional autonomy may contribute to a decrease in the frequency of political conflicts. In 1998 and 1999, federalism was briefly considered as a serious alternative (see also Ikrar Nusa Bhakti and Gayatri 2002), but soon rejected because of its colonial connotations and its potential threat to the unitary state. Autonomy itself, concludes Rizal Sukma, will not bring peace and justice, and may in fact stimulate new regional conflicts. In a similar vein David Ray and Gary Goodpaster point at the negative economic consequences of regional autonomy. Celebrating the ideal of free internal trade, they warn that political competition and trade barriers between regions, combined with the levying of politically motivated taxes in the regions, may eventually hamper economic development.

Briefly introduced by Damien Kingsbury, the second part of the book (Chapters VI-XII) is devoted to regional case studies. Richard Chauvel presents a very interesting historical overview of Dutch and Indonesian policies regarding Irian/Papua and traces the rise and fate of Papuan nationalism. It is a sad story about people who experienced betrayal and lost faith in Indonesian promises of special autonomy. Edward Aspinall and Rizal Sukma discuss the conflict between Aceh and the Indonesian government. Aspinall explores the place of Aceh in the margin of the official Indonesian history,

and shows how the GAM leadership distanced itself in its own history from the 'Javanese imperialists'. Rizal Sukma summarizes developments in Aceh since the early 1990s, and is pessimistic about the possibilities of peace and reconciliation.

Contrary to Minako Sakai's account of the inability of regional AMAN offices to operate successfully, Elizabeth Collins emphasizes the central role played by NGOs like LBH, WALHI and Corruption Watch in conflicts between the local population and large companies and government officials in South Sumatra over issues concerning land, pollution and corruption. The role of a free press in these conflicts is of crucial importance. Since the judicial system is totally corrupt, justice can only be obtained through public pressure on regional politicians.

Ismet Fanany reviews recent developments regarding regional autonomy in West Sumatra. This piece discusses problems concerning ancestral lands (*tanah ulayat*), conflicts between districts and the recently re-established *nagari*, and questions concerning *nagari* leadership, which are complicated by the role played by Minangkabau migrants (*parantau*) who project their ideal images of traditional society upon new administrative realities.

The last chapter is an interesting case study by Minako Sakai on the separation of Bangka and Belitung from the mainland province of South Sumatra to form the separate province of Babel in November 2000. She carefully reviews the various factors which led to this development. The islands are multi-ethnic and lack an appealing history, but share a common dissatisfaction with Palembang. In their struggle to acquire provincial status they were supported by the Belitung-born Minister of Justice, Jusril Ihza Maendra. Minako Sakai concludes that far from accelerating the disintegration of Indonesia, the 'independence' of Babel from Palembang boosted the loyalty of the islanders to Jakarta.

Whereas the title of *Autonomy and disintegration in Indonesia* conveyed pessimism, that of *Local power and politics in Indonesia; Decentralisation and democratisation*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy, sounds more optimistic. Resulting from the annual Indonesia update at the Australian National University in 2002, this book presents another series of well documented 'snapshots' of decentralization in Indonesia. In Part I, Harold Crouch and Mohamad Ikhsan provide an update of political and economic developments in 2002, developments which appear to reflect a measure of stability without leadership. This piece casts doubt on conceptualizations of the contemporary situation in terms of a transition from authoritarian rule towards democracy. Instead, it suggests that Indonesian politics today can better be characterized in terms of an ongoing stagnation and survival by improvisation.

In Part II, M. Ryaas Rasyid gives a mildly critical overview of recent

developments. Jakarta had failed to provide proper guidelines for the implementation of decentralization, which is why the author resigned as Minister for Decentralisation in 2000. Rasyid also warns against the rising power of regional party bosses. Michael Malley is the only author who situates Indonesian decentralization in a wider context of similar processes elsewhere in the world. Malley also sketches the historical background of recent developments, and concludes that regional bureaucrats are the primary beneficiaries of decentralization. Power, in other words, is primarily transferred from the centre to regional governments, and there is no inevitable link between decentralization and democracy. By contrast, Hans Antlöv and Arrelano A. Colongnon, who work for the Ford Foundation and the Asia Foundation, are more optimistic about the role of civil society in strengthening regional democracy.

Part III offers a set of interesting regional case studies. Michelle Ford gives an account of discussions about ethnic identity in Riau against the backdrop of the secession of the province of Island Riau (KEPRI) from mainland Riau. George Quinn describes efforts on Java to establish separate provinces. Only Banten succeeded (not least because the Minister of Interior at that time came from Banten); Cirebon, Madura, and Surakarta all failed, and Yogyakarta maintained its status quo. Amrih Widodo gives a vivid description of regional politics in Blora, where in the name of the *rakyat* (people), the *bupati* and the chairman of the local parliament rule the region. Minako Sakai investigates the complex of conflicts surrounding the privatization of PT Semen Padang and identifies the various parties involved, but hesitates to reveal the identity of high-level officials. Vedi Hadiz provides a critical assessment of the assumed relationship between decentralization, good governance, democracy and the role of civil society. He argues that old elites discovered that the new democracy could be just as beneficial to them as was the old authoritarian regime. His illuminating case study of local politics in North Sumatra reveals a network of entrepreneurs, predatory state bureaucrats, corrupt politician and thugs who control local politics. Finally, Rodd McGibbon reviews recent developments with regard to special autonomy in Papua and concludes that the law promises in theory substantial autonomy, but as long as the impunity of the armed forces remains unbroken and the intimidating threat of violence remains, the implementation of autonomy is seriously undermined.

Part IV deals with the institutional constraints obstructing regional autonomy. Focusing on aspects of gender, Hana Satriyo points to the fact that the number of women in regional parliaments has decreased since 1999 due to all the male-dominated political parties that recruit DPRD candidates. She also argues that the introduction of *sharia* may limit women's room for manoeuvre, but that NGOs offer ample opportunities to participate in local decision

making. Idayu Pradnja Resosudarmo provides an alarming review of recent environmental developments, which reveal a causal relationship between decentralization and deforestation. Without considering environmental consequences, local governments see their forest reserves primarily as a source of revenue. Consequently, forests can be identified as one of decentralization's hardest-hit victims.

It is amazing that the role of the army is by and large ignored in the literature on regional autonomy. Marcus Mietzner demonstrates that due to its territorial command structure, the TNI is an important player in the decentralization process and even benefits from the transfer of power authority and funds from the centre to the regions. Finally, Rainer Rohdewold looks at the performance of the Indonesian bureaucracy during the process of decentralization, in which the bureaucracy is both object and actor. He points at an alarming lack of concerted reform measures and concludes that surprisingly little seems to have changed. This is not very surprising considering that reform measures are in the hands of people that stand to lose power if these reforms are implemented.

Many of the papers in *Local power and politics in Indonesia*, and particularly those by Malley, Vedi Hadiz, Mietzner and Rohdewold, leave little room for optimism regarding the chances for regional democracy.

Taken together, the four books under review address quite a number of themes and cover a large part of Indonesia. However, little attention is paid to developments eastern Indonesia, as both the provinces of NTB and NTT are ignored.

Also lacking is a broader comparative approach which takes developments elsewhere in the world into account. Since the 1980s, decentralization has become a global phenomenon. Ideological supporters of decentralization in the 'post-strong state' era argue that a weakening of the central state will strengthen civil society and local democracy. It remains to be seen, however, whether 'less state' results in 'more democracy'. It is necessary to look not only at the quality of this democracy – for democratic elections can exacerbate ethnic tensions and stimulate money politics – but also at the conditions under which popular participation in local politics can be achieved. A historical approach, which analyses the roles of both ethnicity and regional elites, seems in this respect to be very relevant (Schulte Nordholt, forthcoming). It seems that in many regions, ethnic identities which have their origins in late-colonial policies are playing a strategic role in the formation of new constituencies and patterns of political leadership. It is at the same time important to examine to what extent old regional elites have managed to dominate local politics.

Concerning the actual process of decentralization, we need to know much

more about the flows of money that form vital sources of power. Although there is some information available about the formal budgets in the regions, we know next to nothing about how money is actually spent: who gets what? In this respect we are still to a large extent ignorant outsiders, and must try to get more inside information about the systems we are studying. These systems are not purely administrative in nature, because local power is structured in networks that encompass political, administrative and economic institutions as well as a variety of informal relationships which tie these categories together. In order to understand how regional autonomy works, we should try to understand the formal and informal relationships between politicians, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs, soldiers, and thugs, and the way these relationships produce a mixture of power, money and criminality which colours the everyday experience of most Indonesians.

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